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COVER

Under the watchful eyes of Yankee overseers, Chinese laborers built California's railroads, reclaimed the Delta, and nursed the state's infant agriculture, including its vineyards. This special issue of *California History* focuses on the Chinese experience in California. *Vineyard photograph from Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library.*

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The Magazine of the California Historical Society

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Many immigrants from the Kwantung agricultural region of China dispersed throughout California.

Chinese-American History

"It would be impossible to trace the history of the Chinese in this country without at the same time writing the history of California from 1850 to 1900," observed Carey McWilliams in his groundbreaking social history, *Brothers Under the Skin* (1943). Certainly it would be impossible to predict the course of California's development if a vast pool of Chinese workers had not supplied the labor that was required for developing the state's impatient fledgling economy.

It is possible, however, to point out a few of the contributions made by the Chinese to their adopted land, although most information on the Chinese in California has been researched and written by non-Chinese scholars who work from limited primary sources. Popularly recognized as the greatest Chinese achievement is their work between 1865 and 1869 on the Central Pacific link of the transcontinental railroad. Without their manpower, which numbered some 12,000 workers, the railroad that opened up the vast territory and wealth of the West to national development could not have been built for decades to come.

Much less known are the activities of the Chinese following the completion of the railroad for which large numbers were first brought to this country. Upon discharge, these thousands of men turned their energies to the occupations with which they were more familiar. Essentially an agricultural people—most of them came from a 300-square-mile delta region of Kwangtung Province in South China—they dispersed throughout California's fifty-eight counties, with larger concentrations

Mr. Chinn has been active in Chinese American history for many years. In 1935 he founded *Chinese Digest*, the country's first English-language newspaper for Chinese Americans. In 1963 he invited friends to join him in creating the Chinese Historical Society of America, of which he is now a director and, since 1966, editor of its *Bulletin*. He has received awards of merit from the California Historical Society (1970), the Conference of California Historical Societies (1976), and the American Association for State and Local History (1976).

Mr. Chinn is president of Gollan Typography, Inc., in San Francisco.

in Northern California in areas such as San Francisco, Alameda, Sacramento, Yuba, Placer, Fresno, and Santa Clara counties. In the San Joaquin delta region, they reclaimed large sloughs and turned the bottomland into some of the richest farmland in the world. They fished in the seas and bays, proving nature's bountifulness to skeptical Yankees and bringing to the gastronomic table such delights as the bay shrimp and the once-abhorred abalone.

Working diligently in nurseries and orchards, the Chinese coaxed young plants to grow. In 1875 in Oregon they nurtured a new cherry tree, gratefully named Bing after the man who carefully cultivated its fruits. Across the country in De Land, Florida, a once-Californian Chinese developed in 1888 the hardy all-season Lue Gim Gong orange, which transformed a crop of limited production potential into one making possible the great citrus industry in Florida and California. Lue was awarded the Wilder Medal by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1912 for his contribution.

Less dramatically, anonymous Chinese built the countless rock walls—constructed without cement or mortar—which criss-cross Northern California. Still visible a century later in areas such as the Napa Valley are limestone wine-aging tunnels, many miles of beautiful walls, and hundreds of magnificent stone bridges spanning rivers and creeks.

Today, increasing numbers of researchers are seeking information about long-neglected, indeed unknown, aspects of California's early history. Responding to the challenge raised by historian Carey McWilliams and by groups of people with new-found voices, younger generations of historians now recognize that the roles played by racial and ethnic groups and working-class people are essential components to an understanding of the nature and development of the American nation. Accordingly, this special issue of *California History* brings to readers several new articles which shed light on aspects of the Chinese experience in America which have remained

Chinese fishermen combed California's bays for shrimp and oysters and introduced such delights as abalone and squid (far right, shown drying on racks at Monterey) to American cuisine.

largely uninvestigated. They do much to clarify our understanding about the parts played by the Chinese in the drama of early California history and perhaps will spur further research in the field.

The attitudes and events leading to the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States in the 1880's—the first occasion on which any immigrant group was denied entry to this land of immigrants—is of sufficient importance to warrant two articles focusing on the exclusion controversy and the expediency of the political climate of the times. Cheryl Cole's article investigates California's capitalist and entrepreneurial forces, largely ignored by historians, who resisted the popular pressures for exclusion on economic grounds until party politics forced them to revise their position on the "Chinese question." David Anderson's study of the national and international perspectives leading to exclusion illuminates the limitations of the nation's loyalty to treaties and sensitivity to international diplomacy when confronted with strong domestic pressure for exclusion legislation.

Future research might explore the perspectives of the victims of exclusion and how the laws affected their daily existence on this continent. Perhaps this responsibility rests with Chinese historians, for the main sources for this kind of study are the memories of the rapidly-vanishing first-generation elders who are still so reluctant to talk about their past.

This special issue's fascinating investigation by Robert Schwendinger of the Chinese contributions to the American merchant marine and the photo essay by Robert Weinstein about the Pacific Mail Steamship Company vessels that played such a large part in the Chinese immigrant's experience are a first, to my recollection. Many Chinese have probably wondered, this writer included, about the mode of transportation that was used to bring so many thousands of their countrymen across the Pacific. In the 1920's this writer made his first trip to China aboard an old President liner and experienced traveling in steerage class deep within the ship. While accommoda-



tions had improved considerably by this time, one could still empathize, stuck belowship as we were, with the immigrants' feelings of claustrophobia and helplessness so clearly recreated within these pages.

Joan Trauner's article about how the Chinese functioned as medical scapegoats in nineteenth-century San Francisco because of the lack of scientific knowledge about disease and, as a corollary, how public health policy and prejudice prevented "modern" science and health care from penetrating Chinatown's invisible walls is a perceptive investigation into the dynamics between the larger society and the isolated Chinese subculture. Her work in largely overlooked public documents reveals how much information can be gleaned from a thorough and logical historical approach, and the reader senses her own discovery as the story unfolds from the official records of the period.



H. M. Lai's article on the Angel Island immigration facility enables the reader to appreciate the train of events and legislative measures that span nearly a century of immigrant detention in the San Francisco Bay area. We come to empathize with the despair which new immigrants must have felt on their arrival in the Golden State and understand the desperate measures they took to secure release from confinement.

Only in this generation have racial animosities abated enough to make possible an accurate accounting of the nation's treatment of immigrant groups. Today's modicum of acceptance, however, in no way obviates the need for a great deal of revision and reinterpretation of yesterday's printed books in order to focus them for future readers. New research such as evidenced throughout this special issue of *California History* will greatly increase the dimensions of our written historical record.

It is a telling commentary on the influence of the past on the present that despite today's proliferating research in California's history, the number of Chinese scholars conducting investigations remains limited. In part this situation can be explained by the early experience of the Chinese in this country, particularly in California where their numbers greatly exceeded that of any other state. (Chinese, Chinese-Americans, and Americans of Chinese descent in California now number between 200,000 and 250,000, some 30 percent of the nation's Chinese population.)

Shortly after the first Chinese immigrated to California, an anti-Chinese movement began to gather momentum. A telling blow was struck in 1854, when the California Supreme Court established limits for Chinese participation in community affairs. In *People vs. Hall*, a white citizen was charged with a murder to which a



Exclusion laws cut off the largely male immigrant population from the possibility of family life. Public scribes wrote letters to the overseas families of the illiterate.

Chinese houseboy was the sole witness. When the defendant was convicted on the strength of the Chinese man's testimony, the case was appealed. California law of the period forbade Native Americans from testifying for or against a white man, and the California Supreme Court subsequently ruled that "Chinese were Indians" and therefore ineligible to testify. In the words of the court: "Otherwise to let the Chinese testify in a court of law would see them at the polls, in the jury box, and upon the bench, and in our legislative halls." Statutory provisions such as this one resulted in untold numbers of arbitrary cruelties perpetrated against Chinese people in California and established among them a lingering climate of suspicion and fear. (The 1854 statute was not repealed until 1872, eighteen years later.)

This particular law did even more damage than is readily apparent. Over the decades it destroyed Chinese people's confidence in American society, for in essence it gave free license to Caucasians to abuse or murder Chinese people at will (rarely would a white man testify against another). As the years passed, the Chinese began to withdraw in self-protection from the isolated rural areas of the state and move back to urban communities

where their numbers, at least, offered some measure of security. This, in turn, eventually evoked further criticism of the Chinese as being "clannish."

Recent generations, however, are coming forward to take part in the affairs of the larger community. As Superior Court Judge Harry Low of San Francisco recently summarized:

Because we are different, there is a strong likelihood that we shall in some way always be set apart. Many Americans still consider "American" as synonymous with white, and non-whites as foreigners. It has only been in recent years that Chinese Americans have fully participated in community life. Our participation and influence is yet developing and has yet to reach full maturity.

Chinese history in America as told by the Chinese has only recently been emerging from a past that embraces more than 125 years. When the Chinese became the first foreigners to be excluded by law from entering the United States in 1882, the almost entirely male Chinese population already residing in the country was cut off from normal development and presumably doomed to extinction because the men were stranded without families. According to United States laws, however, a child

Memories of the exclusion laws, white hostility, and violence died hard among Chinese immigrants and contributed to their isolation from white American culture.

born in the United States is a citizen, and the child of a citizen, wherever the child's residence, inherits his parent's citizenship. After the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco destroyed vital statistic records, some Chinese claimed citizenship for themselves and their offspring but listed both real and fictional children. The recording of fictional citizen-children created a "slot" for new immigrants from China who could purchase the name and, if clever, enter the country as a citizen. While "paper" sons and daughters enabled would-be immigrants to circumvent the harsh exclusion act, the illegal nature of the procedure firmly discouraged the chronicling of Chinese history in America until recent years.

Only in the last two decades, with the loosening of immigration laws and the concurrent easing in attitudes towards Orientals, have most Chinese dared to "open up" with their family stories. With the formation of the Chinese Historical Society of America in 1963 in San Francisco, the first concrete steps were taken to record the Chinese side of this history as they themselves lived it.

Some apprehensions of past discrimination and reprisals remain to haunt the older generation, and their fears are periodically relayed to their children. Even during the Great Depression of the 1930's and for a period after World War II, few Chinese were able to buy homes outside of their limited districts without major difficulties. Some stereotypes carried over from the nineteenth century remain with us today.

Unfortunately, it may well be that the first few decades of the Chinese experience in California—if not those after the turn of the century—can be considered lost chapters of their history. The first waves of pioneers to reach California, for all practical purposes, were men whose goal was rapid acquisition of money to enable them to return to China and support their families through the rest of their days. Most immigrants were illiterate. Few Caucasian people knew their names, and the Caucasian phonetic pronunciation of their Chinese first names did little to identify them accurately. Only a few



Chinese mastered English and recorded their experiences. Before the 1880's there was but a handful of American-born Chinese, and it was not until this new generation came into full maturity that roots developed and the deeper meaning of family life gave substance to their existence and identity. But by then few cared to record the past.

These inheritances are but some of the experiences that many Chinese regard as legitimate reasons for their attitudes and hesitancy about participation in the larger community. However, with the growth of a more enlightened society and the active concern of the present Chinese generation, most of these problems are gradually disappearing. The Chinese today have become involved in nearly every profession as well as civic and governmental affairs.

The first Chinese in America had envisioned themselves only as brief sojourners in a foreign land. But the courage that impelled the first pilgrims to embark for America gave some a chance to experience the meaning of freedom. Their history as it unfolds on these pages and in future writings may further legitimize their role as American citizens and integral partners in our future.

The photograph on page 2 is from the Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library; on pages 5, 6, and 7, from the CHS Library; on page 4, courtesy the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

CHINESE EXCLUSION:

the capitalist perspective of

The immigration of Orientals to California has formed a unique chapter in the American historical experience. The first of California's Asian immigrants, the Chinese, contributed greatly to the state's economic growth through their labor in the mines, in agriculture, and on the railroads. Their presence, however, also raised complex economic, cultural, and political questions that eventually resulted in the federal Exclusion Act of 1882 which prohibited further immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States.

During the thirty-year period from 1850 to 1880, anti-Chinese agitators in California captured the news spotlight, suggesting to East Coast observers—and later generations of historians—that there was agreement among Californians on the need to seriously restrict or altogether exclude Chinese immigration. Consensus

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on the Chinese issue, however, never existed. At least one influential element of California's citizenry, faced with the challenge of balancing a number of economic and political interests, remained largely ambivalent on the question of Chinese immigration, at least until the late 1870's.

This group is well represented by the editors of the *Sacramento Union* newspaper. On cultural and social matters they were often as anti-Chinese as most Californians; on economic questions, however, their capitalist and business interests forced them to recognize the many benefits that the Chinese labor force afforded for the rapid development of California's economy. In politics on the state and national level, they represented Republican party interests that felt particularly bound to uphold the idea of justice under the law for all persons, regardless of race, and to condemn the anti-Chinese rioters who hoped to force the Chinese from California by physical terror.

During the 1850's and 1860's this significant business segment took an ambivalent and sometimes openly pro-

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*PAGES INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE.

WATCHES AND JEWELRY.



J. HYMAN, JR., WATCH-
MAKER AND JEWELER, No. 130 J street, be-
tween Fifth and Sixth. Just received a very
fine lot of Watches and Jewelry, which will be
sold at a very low price. Watches and Jewelry care-
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Warehouse, 58 J street, bet'n 2d and

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rior packed fruits at the lowest market

rates and ship the best quality of produce at low figures.

PAY
LIFE

the *Sacramento Union*, 1850-1882

Chinese stance that served to counterbalance the mounting exclusion forces. During the 1870's, however, a number of factors led the editors of the *Union*, and the pro-business Republican interests they represented, to back the exclusion movement. Their support proved vital to the eventual passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.

The "Chinese question," as it was early labeled, was exploitively and inextricably intertwined with other issues. This helps explain the often recognized irony that the Chinese immigrants were not the essential ingredient in the anti-Chinese movement.¹ Chinese immigrants ventured to California to earn money in her mines and fields with the intent of returning home to China to establish a higher standard of living for themselves. While sojourners in the United States, they remained at the mercy of white Californians and subject to the economic and social vicissitudes of the developing California frontier.

Most research on the Chinese in California has centered geographically on San Francisco, not only because

the city housed the largest number of the state's Chinese but also because it became the center of the anti-Chinese movement. During the 1850's and 1860's, however, Sacramento served as the base for Chinese working in the Mother Lode mines, on the railroads, and in valley agriculture. Official population statistics for Sacramento before 1870 do not accurately reflect the considerable contact between whites and Chinese in Sacramento. By 1870 Sacramento ranked second only to San Francisco in the numbers of its Chinese inhabitants, and, in fact, the Chinese name for Sacramento was Yee Fow or "city of second importance."² Sacramento and San Francisco were also said to harbor the strongest anti-Chinese feeling in the state, Sacramento acknowledged to be a "strongly anti-Chinese community."³

Most historians of the Chinese experience in California also have relied extensively on San Francisco newspaper accounts of the anti-Chinese movement, particularly papers which represented the interests of the Democratic party and of workingmen. The *Alta California*, a decidedly Democratic San Francisco jour-

DAILY UNION.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1873.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

SACRAMENTO DAILY UNION.

[From our Second Edition of Saturday.]

BY OVERLAND TELEGRAPH.

[SPECIAL DISPATCHES TO THE UNION.]

SENTIMENT IN NEVADA COUNTY.

Editors Union: Political matters are looking bright with us. The nominations of the Republican Convention were of the right kind of men, who will, if elected, carry out the wishes of the people in opposing railroad exactions and increase of power of monopolies, subsidies, Goat Island schemes and the selfish

PACIFIC COAST ITEMS.

Gov. Boob will speak in Sikeston Aug. 30th. The Valley Society of California Pioneers have decided to celebrate their anniversary this year at Napa.

The San Pedro Railroad is taxed to its full capacity in the transportation of coal, iron and other railroad material.

nal, has probably been the most frequently quoted by investigators. Several others heavily consulted by historians to retrace the events of those years include the *Call*, a mechanics' and workingmen's paper; the anti-capital and pro-labor *Bulletin*; and the more neutral, half-Democratic and half-Republican *San Francisco Chronicle*.⁴ Yet, San Francisco's perspective did not represent California generally, and study of the Sacramento outlook provides an enlightening contrast.

San Francisco was a workingman's city, a developing industrial and urban center dominated by manufacturing and shipping interests, while Sacramento's economy was based in agriculture and town merchandising. Sacramento merchants supplied the hardware and provisions necessary to sustain miners, railroad workers, and farmers in the foothills and the valley. The decision to move the state capital to Sacramento in 1854 stimulated accommodation industries such as hotels and restaurants and allowed the city to reap the benefits of being the seat of state government. In short, Sacramento's economy was oriented toward traditional agricultural and business interests in which the independent entrepreneur remained the central figure.

While San Francisco was a decidedly Democratic community, Sacramento was more conservative and came to be characterized as Republican. In fact, California's Republican party was born in Sacramento in 1854 when a group of anti-slavery Sacramentans, including railroadmen Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker, were gathered together by Cornelius Cole, a disenchanted Democrat and successful Sacramento businessman. Throughout the 1850's the Democratic party controlled California politics and government, electing six of California's first seven governors and seven of the first eight U.S. senators and controlling all but one state legislature from 1849 to 1862. By 1859, however, the new Republican party had hopelessly split California's powerful Democratic party, and during the 1860's the Republican party became California's re-

spectable political leader, benefitting from Civil War patriotism and the party's advocacy of the transcontinental railroad. This essay investigates the as yet inadequately studied opinions of these Republicans and businessmen, as expressed in a Sacramento newspaper that became the major spokesman for California Republicanism—the *Union*.⁵

The first issue of the *Daily Union*—named not for any sectional politics, but after the group of six printers who "united" as Hanlicker and Company to form the paper—was published on March 19, 1851. Passing through numerous owners during 1851 and 1852, the paper was purchased in 1853 by a trio of men under the banner of the J. Anthony Company. James Anthony, H. M. Larkin, and Paul Morrill ran the *Union* until 1875. The company's office was located on Third Street between J and K streets. Anthony was the businessman and proprietor of the paper; Morrill was the printer; and Larkin was listed as the publisher. Scanty records indicate that Morrill was born in 1812 of a "liberal" and "highly honored" New Hampshire family and therefore probably arrived in California with money. Morrill's partners were also originally northeasterners, Anthony from Pennsylvania and Larkin from Connecticut. Anthony was also said to have a considerable sum of money at the time he entered the business. The three apparently possessed experience as newspapermen in the East and from the beginning were bent upon putting out the best newspaper in California. Indeed, the *Union* proved to be so well produced that it steadily gained in circulation and business and was described as "second to no journal in the state." Other distinctions earned by the paper, which surely owed much to its location in the state capital, included being the cheapest daily in California and "the largest double sheet daily in the United States."⁶

In 1875 Anthony and Company sold the *Union*, which then merged with another local daily, the *Record*, which had been established in 1867 as the recognized

The Union's editorial policy was closely aligned with the Republican party platform.

organ of the Central Pacific Railroad. William H. Mills, an enterprising young printer who arrived in California in 1862 from Fayette County, Indiana, served as the manager and editorial director of the renamed *Record-Union*. Under each of its owners and editors, both before and after the 1875 merger, the *Union* was widely recognized as the most powerful newspaper in the state,⁷ and an 1893 appraisal rendered this impressive judgment:

Never in the history of journals has there been a journal that has so entered into the lives, feelings, sentiments and affections of a constituency, nor wielded greater power, "making and unmaking governors and senators and swaying the balance upon the great questions of National as well as State importance."⁸

Even in the post-statehood decades California newspapers were highly politicized. The *Union's* editors, of course, had promised in their first issue to remain politically neutral and independent, but in the years before formation of the Republican party, the *Union* editors, along with a considerable majority of Sacramentans, supported the conservative Whig party as "our ticket."⁹ During the national elections in 1860, the paper strongly helped sway the traditionally Democratic California to the Northern cause. Except for a brief interlude from about 1873 to 1875, the *Union's* editorial policy throughout the period from 1852 to 1882 was closely aligned with the Republican party platforms.¹⁰ Opinions expressed in the *Union* represented those of a significant and influential sector, sufficiently so to justify this investigation of the *Union's* editorial opinions on the "Chinese question."

Chinese immigration to California was first spurred by the Gold Rush in 1849, and many Chinese people passed through Sacramento on their way to the foothills. Sacramentans thought these wagonloads of Chinese or "Celestials" quite a spectacle.

Five large wagons filled with swarthy, chattering Chinese packed at sixes and sevens—"kinder permiskusly" [kind of promiscuously]—were passed by us in the upper part of J Street Saturday morning, en route for the mines.¹¹

Yet even in the fifties, *Union* editors often expressed alarm at Chinese immigration and described the "Chinese question" as "one of the most important social and political problems of the age. . . ." They characterized the immigration as an historic convergence, "East meets West," in which China's teeming population might any day overrun America's vulnerable Pacific Coast outpost. The *Union* editors' opinion undoubtedly reflected that of most Californians who were alarmed at the increasing presence of so alien a people and who believed the Chinese to be a racially inferior people who could never settle in California as the social equals of whites.¹²

Because most of the early immigrants worked in the Mother Lode mines, the people most affected by the Chinese presence were miners. American miners, of course, were opposed to immigrant miners of many nationalities—French, Spanish, Mexicans, and Pacific Islanders—but particularly to Chinese "cheap labor."¹³ Throughout the 1850's *Union* articles described efforts by white miners to drive the Chinese out of the mining counties.¹⁴ Reflecting this concern, a visitor to Sacramento from New York in 1852 wrote home about his impression of the seriousness of the situation:

The principal discussion in the city and the mines at the present time is the question of permitting Chinese labor in the mines. . . . Meetings have been held in different places in the mines and this city for the purpose of driving them from the mines entirely.¹⁵

Notions that Chinese immigrants were "coolies" or



bonded slaves—although most Chinese traveled to California as freely as any other immigrants—were widely held.

The *Union* editors were as anti-Chinese as most Californians, and at times they expressed wholehearted agreement with rampaging white miners. In an 1859 editorial, for example, the editors concluded that Chinese labor degraded American labor, that Chinese immigration would ruin California as a workingman's paradise, that Chinese immigration discouraged European immigration to California, that Chinese "cheap labor" only benefitted capitalists, and that capitalists would exploit all laborers and "sell our American birth-right," throwing the "pearls of American liberty and equality before swine. . . ."¹⁶ Yet, despite such vehement editorial opinions, three important factors restrained the *Union* editors' support of white miners and forced

them to maintain an ambivalent position on Chinese immigration.

The Foreign Miners' Tax law, initially passed in 1850, imposed a prohibitive tax on all non-native born miners. In the first six years, however, it became apparent that it was financially expedient for the state to levy a more moderate tax which would bring it considerable revenue. By 1856 a standard tax of \$4 a month had been set, a rate which remained in force until the Foreign Miners' Tax was declared unconstitutional in 1870.¹⁷

Between 1850 and 1870, almost \$5 million was collected from the tax, a sum which amounted to one-half of the state's total income from all sources. After 1855, Chinese miners paid 98 percent of all such taxes, and state officials ignored what they knew to be the unconstitutionality of the law in order to exploit Chinese miners for this revenue.¹⁸

Union editorials in the late 1850's warned that driving the Chinese out of mining would result in severely reduced miners' tax revenue for Sacramento.

In the late 1850's, *Union* editors first called the attention of its statewide readers to the fact that state and county government depended for its very existence on taxes paid by the Chinese. (Revenue from the miners' tax amounted to \$1,200 in one month alone in Sacramento County.¹⁹) Although white miners continually pressed for higher and higher taxes on foreign miners, the *Union* editors were conscious that the tax had to be kept at a moderate level so as not to drive the Chinese out of mining entirely. In 1855, for example, the Chinese had left the mines in great numbers as a result of raised tax rates, but subsequent reduction in the rates caused them to depart again from the cities for the mines, leaving Sacramento's I Street almost completely deserted.²⁰ In 1858 *Union* editors stated plainly that exclusion of Chinese immigrants would "operate heavily upon the treasuries of the mountain counties, as well as upon that of the State," and that "if the exodus from the mines . . . continues . . . the mountain counties will be pretty sure to regret the passage of [any] law prohibiting the Chinese from mining. . . ." ²¹ The *Union* also claimed to prefer the employment of Chinese in the mines because it kept them from "loafing in the cities [where] they are perfect nuisances. . . ." ²²

Another reason for the *Union*'s ambivalence on the question of Chinese labor in the mines during the fifties and early sixties was its Republican party moral persuasions. Although the *Union* frequently stated that the Chinese were racially inferior and a cultural blight in California, at other times they insisted on equal treatment for the Chinese under California's laws. Concluding in 1858 that total exclusion of Chinese immigrants would be "contrary to the spirit of Republican institutions," the *Union* adopted a "law and order" stance that characterized its ambivalent position on the "Chinese question." ²³

Union editors urged that as long as the United States maintained trade and social intercourse treaties with China and imposed special taxes on the Chinese after

*State and county government depended
for its very existence on miners' taxes
paid by the Chinese.*

their arrival, simple justice compelled the nation's police and laws to protect the Chinese from abuse at the hands of white agitators. Typical of the *Union*'s position on mining county violence was its response in 1858 when 150 white miners in the Sacramento County community of Folsom attempted to drive 200 "terror-stricken Celestials" from their homes and the claims they worked for the Natoma Ditch Company. The miners were convinced that the ditch company was gaining a "monopoly" in the area because it employed Chinese "cheap labor." Seventeen independent miners were eventually arrested and brought to Sacramento for trial for their actions, where the company president claimed impartiality in hiring practices and testified against the riotous white miners. *Union* editors, sympathizing with the company and the Chinese, expressed outrage at the behavior of the white offenders and stated that their concern was not with economic questions but with the moral issues of law, order, and justice for the Chinese laborers.²⁴

A third factor affecting the *Union* editorial opinion on the Chinese was the editors' belief that the Chinese were particularly well-suited for certain types of labor. The *Union* advocated in 1862, for example, that Chinese farm laborers ought to be used to reclaim the Tule lands of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. (In fact, this idea had been circulating for some years, and the Chinese did later prove instrumental in reclaiming the delta for agriculture.) *Union* editors concluded that the presence of the Chinese was tolerable as long as they undertook "labor which Americans would not condescend to perform," such as menial or domestic service,

and “accept[ed] compensation which Americans would not receive.” The *Union* was also well aware that California’s capitalists and merchants, a small yet influential group, supported the use of Chinese labor and made their opinions heard in the state legislature. One Sacramento’s “Letter to the Editor” in 1862 stressed that no one should “ignore the existence of the *many white men and their business interests which profit by their presence*,” because every California farmer and manufacturer needed this “womanlike labor.”²⁵

During most of the sixties, the Civil War dominated the attentions of Americans, and anti-Chinese agitation in California subsided, relegating the “Chinese question” to the back burner. The sixties were also economically prosperous years for most Californians, including workingmen.²⁶ Finally, during these years most Chinese continued to labor in the mines or on the railroads, avoiding potential conflict with urban workingmen. In 1869, however, as the transcontinental railroad neared completion, the “Chinese question” took on a new meaning to certain Californians, and to *Union* editors in particular. Suddenly, the new possibilities of trade with China wiped away earlier ambivalences and caused many California capitalists now to support Chinese immigration vigorously.

The ground-breaking ceremony for the Pacific section of the transcontinental railroad had been held in Sacramento on January 8, 1863. In the autumn of that year, work having progressed as far as Auburn, Irish laborers went on strike for higher wages. In response, E. B. Crocker, one of the four Sacramento Republican financiers of the Pacific Railroad, immediately sent to Sacramento for Chinese workers to break the strike. The Chinese worked so energetically that Crocker kept them on and soon issued a call for 5,000 more. Even-

tually on the Sierra stretch of the railroad more than 11,000 Chinese—or “Crocker’s pets,” as they were nicknamed—worked under the foremanship of 2,500 Caucasians, mostly Irish. Progressing through Nevada and Utah, 10,000 more Chinese and 2,000 whites worked at a frantic pace to reach Promontory by May 10, 1869. It was widely agreed that the railroad could never have been finished on schedule without the diligent Chinese laborers.²⁷

The completion of the railroad meant, among other things, that inauguration of the long dreamed-of trade with China and Japan was finally possible. *Union* editors enthusiastically claimed that the China trade was California’s “destiny.” “What are we here [on the Pacific Coast] for but to cultivate commerce with Oriental nations?”²⁸

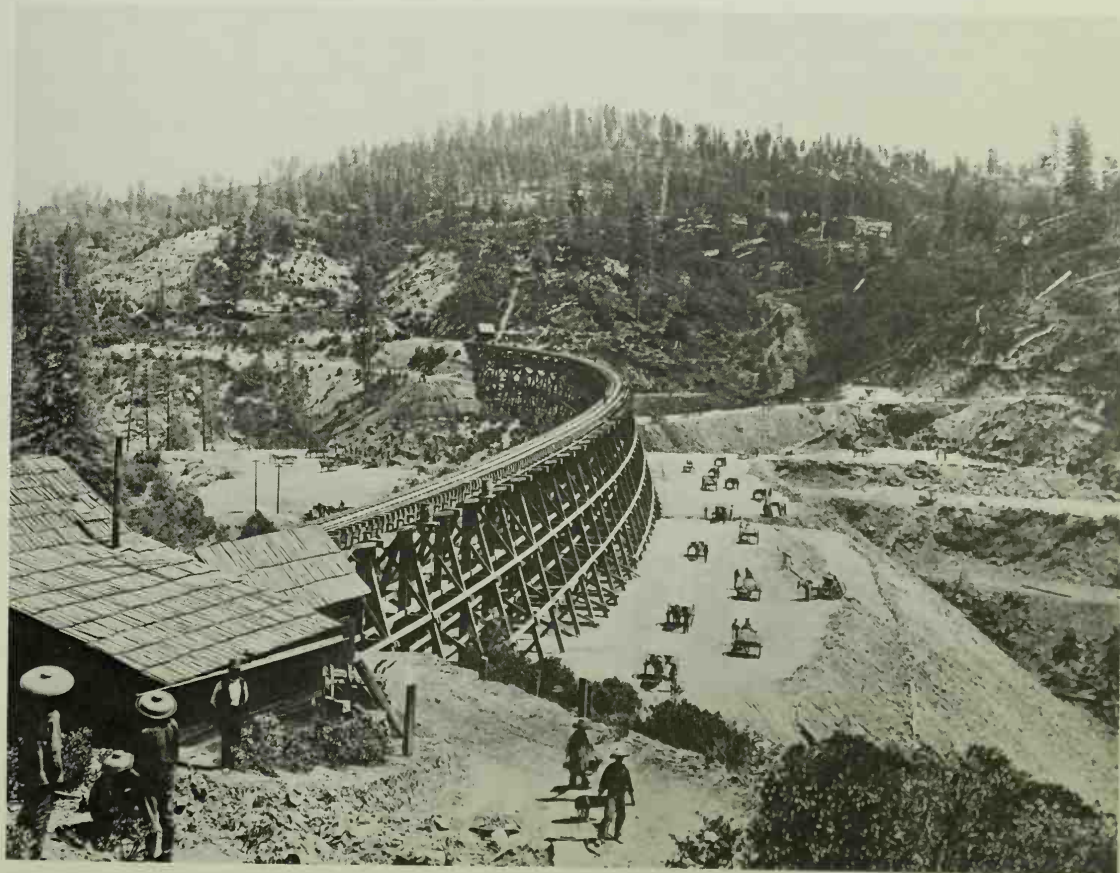
The *Union*’s depiction of the Chinese in China suddenly improved when the Chinese became potential trade partners. The *Union* no longer wrote about Chinese savagery and barbarism, but, for example, in March of 1867 informed its readers that the civil service system, recently introduced in the United States Congress, was not an American invention but was borrowed from the great Chinese Empire where scholarship and promotion based on merit had long been held in highest esteem. In fact, the editors observed, “‘barbarians’ is a term which may be more justly and accurately applied to other people than to the Mongolian race.”²⁹

On the issue of Chinese laborers the editors also adopted a new position. Despite former ambivalence, the paper now totally supported the immigration of Chinese laborers. As long as the trade treaties with China allowed an “influx of Asiatic laborers,” such labor was “much needed to assist in reclaiming this continent from its wild state.” The *Union*’s earlier fear that the Chinese intended to colonize and compete for the permanent possession of California was now labeled “utterly vain.” The *Union* claimed that any urban unemployment among whites in California stemmed



Union editors recommended hiring Chinese laborers at menial wages for the important tasks of reclaiming the Delta lands and nursing infant vineyards.

Chinese laborers, the Union urged, could "reclaim the continent from its wild state," including impressive undertakings such as the Secrettown Trestle completed in 1877.



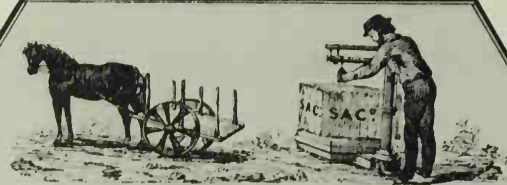
In the early years, Sacramento's capitalists openly admired the Chinese businessmen's thrift and industriousness (far right, Grant Avenue store in San Francisco) and commercial success in a foreign environment (advertisement for shipping via railroad).

from the loss of a healthy work ethic, unwillingness to work in the mines and fields, and evil urban influences, not competing Chinese labor. The editors believed California could do with twice the present number of Asiatics. In fact, Chinese labor was viewed as a totally positive element that resulted in widened and multiplied forms of labor for whites.³⁰

On the subject of engaging socially with the Chinese, the editors contended in the late sixties that social relations were a necessary and acceptable by-product of commercial intercourse. Reversing a position they had taken in 1862, the editors concluded that an "interchange of populations" was simply one of the results of trade to be expected and accepted.³¹ Revealing their Republican party moral persuasions, they concluded that efforts aimed at excluding immigrants violated "the natural rights of man as defined by the Declaration of Independence."³²

Those who teach themselves to hate the Chinese simply because of their different form of civilization and to defame and persecute them here because they are in the minority and without civil rights adequate to their protection, are far from representing the true character of the American people. . . . America is as ready to encourage an interchange of thoughts and philosophy, as of goods with this strange yet interesting race.³³

The *Union*, of course, did not fail to call to the attention of its readers that it was the Republican party that had finally fulfilled California's fifteen-year dream of a transcontinental railroad which not only linked Californians with the East Coast, but opened up the mythical China trade for merchants all across America. Goods of all varieties could be transported to California by railroad and then carried by steamship to the ports of China. In 1869 the Republican party platform also openly supported the China trade, and Chinese immigration as a by-product. It described the Chinese as "unoffending immigrants" and asserted that America must not allow domestic anti-Chinese agitation to damage that trade.³⁴



本公司之火車接裝大埠付至各處來往之
貨物箱之輕重云四折數收卸也或付貨
之人自任卸過先至往收單紙若干每一整
限以五件卸為額由大埠付至各埠每整貨
收銀員五元半至五元下如有失漏即照賠並
決不吝言凡各 貴客付貨在案為留心先
顧本公司諸貨之船立於各近街馬頭每晚
候四點鐘啟行

信務卑濕佛 火車公司 決紋 謹啟

同治八年五月

滑精卑濕佛

T.H. GOODMAN, GEN'L FREIGHT AGENT W.P. & C.P.R.R. SACRAMENTO, CAL.	R.C. JOHNSON Through Carrying F. & G. Local Com. (Cal.) F. & G. 415 CALIFORNIA ST. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.	M.S. HURD, SACRAMENTO, CAL.	A.N. TOWNE, GEN'L SUP'T. W.P. & C.P.R.R. SACRAMENTO, CAL.
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No similar reversals on the Chinese issue were made by the Democratic or Workingmen's party platforms in California. They continued to support anti-Chinese agitation and total exclusion of Chinese laborers regardless of treaties or trade potential. When the state legislature introduced a bill to impose a special tax on the Chinese not unlike the earlier miners' tax, the *Union*, hitherto a warm partisan of such measures, now attacked it as the sort of tactics used in the Middle Ages to persecute Jewish people.³⁵

Even before the completion of the railroad, an 1868 *Union* editorial stressed that "political demagogues" agitating against Chinese immigration must not be



allowed to substitute prejudice for reason and endanger the China trade. In 1869 the *Union* queried: "Is it sound business policy . . . to abuse and maltreat the inhabitants of such a good customer for American goods?" The *Union* characterized these agitators on the one hand as hypocrites willing to employ Chinese as domestics in their own homes and on the other as Irishmen and the children of Irishmen, recently themselves the objects of similar attacks, who were not reliable representatives of American public opinion.³⁶

Despite America's optimism and efforts to encourage the fabled China trade, the projected commerce failed to materialize. Based on a serious misunderstanding of

conditions in long self-sufficient China, particularly of the ability and interest of the Chinese people in consuming American manufactured goods, the Chinese trade never developed as anticipated by American merchants. Its promise, however, was slow to fade, and *Union* articles continued to warn that anti-Chinese agitators would jeopardize the China trade. But in the decade of the seventies, other issues replaced the primacy of the Pacific trade in the minds of *Union* editors as they continued to seek an answer to the "Chinese question."

In the 1860's and 1870's California's workingmen began to organize actively against the "capitalists," and

Increasingly resentful of "competition" with Chinese labor, Sacramento's white cigarmakers issued a "white label" in 1879 to protest the employment of Chinese in the industry.



strikes demanding higher wages and shorter working hours were not uncommon in the cities like Sacramento and San Francisco. Although these activities paralleled events on the East Coast, the labor movement in California developed a distinctive feature: it became allied with the anti-Chinese movement. Concluding that its goals could never be realized amid the presence of Chinese "cheap labor," organized labor joined forces with the anti-Chinese agitators. It has, in fact, been concluded that Orientals contributed more than any other factor to the strength of the labor movement in California. Certainly no group supporting the restriction of Chinese immigration became more conspicuous than organized labor.³⁷

The editors of the Sacramento *Union* opposed the labor movement on two distinct levels. First, they rejected on philosophic grounds labor's nationwide attack on America's capitalist system. As early as 1867 the *Union* voiced strong disapproval of labor movement demands in the East for an eight-hour work day, concluding that if laborers were not satisfied with their ten-hour jobs, thousands of willing workers could be found to take their places. The 1876 platform of the National Labor Convention in Pittsburg was summarily denounced by the *Union* as an irrational document drafted by "raving lunatics." Hypocritical were the workingmen's demands, claimed the *Union*. If Chinese "cheap labor" appealed to the capitalists' desired to obtain the most at the least cost and effort, this same motive was at the bottom of labor's demand for an eight-hour law.³⁸

The *Union's* position on labor was clearly stated in an 1878 editorial which proclaimed the interests of capital and labor in an unregulated economy as identical: "The workingman of today is the capitalist of tomorrow." Labor movement agitators promoted "imaginary rights" which "neither workingmen nor any other men possess," and "demands that the government shall provide work for everybody" were "monstrous rubbish." The *Union* further suggested that the only "right" of workingmen was to quit their jobs if they were dissatisfied and that as long as the U.S. maintained treaties with China, the Chinese had as much right as anybody else to earn a living in this "free country."³⁹ The editors' philosophy rang distinctly conservative. Seeking to preserve the rural and entrepreneurial way of life to which they attributed America's past greatness and her future promise, they blamed urbanization for destroying the independent frontier spirit and creating unemployment. If any group need be held responsible for these regrettable and un-American shifts, the blame belonged to recent European immigrants, such as the Irish. According to the *Union*, four-fifths of the workingmen agitating in Sacramento and San Francisco against the Chinese were Irishmen who ought not desire to compete for the menial jobs held by the Chinese. They ought instead, suggested one editorial, abandon the miseries of urban life to the inferior Chinese and set themselves up on a parcel of California's abundant land as proud and independent farmers.⁴⁰

Opposing the way in which organized labor used the Chinese issue for "partisan" purposes, *Union* editors

repeatedly sought to demonstrate the lack of natural economic connection between the complaints of workmen and the presence of Chinese laborers in California. Focusing on Sacramento they noted, for example, that although there was a substantial history of labor organizing in the town, their workmen had maintained a more conservative and rational perspective than their San Francisco counterparts.⁴¹ Sacramentans proved this conservatism in November of 1877 when their delegates to the Workingmen's Convention in San Francisco withdrew in protest to the dictatorship of Denis Kearney, the young Irishman whose sandlot speeches had been inciting San Francisco workmen to riot against local Chinese. Later, Sacramento members charged the Workingmen's party with bribery and corruption and adopted a resolution that Kearney be removed from leadership.⁴² Workingmen's party candidates in Sacramento, who played down the anti-capital charges of the more radical Kearneyites, were victorious in Sacramento's municipal elections that year, as was the party throughout the state,⁴³ but after the 1878 victories, the Workingmen's party lost momentum, and by 1880 it was unable to win elections in Sacramento or elsewhere.

Although the *Union* editors claimed in 1867 that "the workmen of Sacramento, as a body, could not be enlisted in the anti-Chinese movement," evidence counter to this conclusion is readily apparent. In April, 1876, 4,000 Sacramentans, mostly workmen, turned out for an anti-Chinese meeting, and Sacramento's Order of Caucasians, a group dedicated to excluding Chinese labor and promoting white labor, was also active in that year. In protest to the use of Chinese laborers in the cigar industry, Sacramento's cigar makers created a special "white label" to catch public attention at the 1879 State Fair.⁴⁴

The *Union*, arguing that California workers need not fear the Chinese presence, countered claims by white workmen that California was no longer a workers'

*Union editors were convinced
that San Franciscans preferred to loaf
and starve rather than to work and earn
an honest living.*

paradise and argued that Sacramento, at least, was not suffering the lingering effects of the economic depression of 1873. In the *Union*'s January 1, 1878, summation of the preceding year, the editors reasoned that the "contraction of business and consequent stringency of the times" was felt less in Sacramento than in any other section of the state because Sacramento's prosperity was founded in "enduring causes and future permanence." If San Francisco or other California cities were economically depressed, it was the result of the attitude of workmen. *Union* editors were convinced that contemporary San Franciscans preferred to loaf and starve rather than work to earn an honest living. Infected with "communism," these workmen expected to be supported without working, and, furthermore, they seemed bent upon dragging society down to their level. For example, the *Union* reported, when Sacramento's Charles Crocker beneficently created a thousand jobs for California's unemployed on the Southern Pacific Railroad, San Francisco workmen refused to accept the jobs. San Francisco workmen were a special radical breed, the editors were convinced, who did not represent the majority of workmen.⁴⁵

The Chinese issue, according to the *Union*, hurt the causes of the labor movement, and the actions of riotous workmen in San Francisco damaged the reputation of the working classes everywhere. On July 26, 1877, when 10,000 San Franciscans shouting "death to capitalists" assaulted Chinese people with clubs, set fires in Chinatown, and attacked railroad authorities, workmen were engaging not in legitimate strikes, but in race

*The crossing of the rugged Sierra Nevada
and completing of the transcontinental
railroad by Chinese railroad workers
heralded the opening of the fabled China trade
—a dream which never materialized.*

riots which proved that labor unions lacked control over their own disorganized ranks.⁴⁶

Labor unions were also responsible for a general social decline, believed the *Union*. "Hoodlumism" in San Francisco stemmed from labor union regulations which arbitrarily excluded many young men from employment in the mechanical industries and left them free to fill Kearney's ranks.⁴⁷ Similarly, workingmen hurt themselves when they initiated strikes that closed factories which employed only a few Chinese. In short, the *Union* argued that the workingmen's anti-Chinese movement would ultimately produce a public reaction not against the Chinese but against white workingmen themselves.

In reality, according to the *Union*, Chinese labor did not compete unfairly with white labor and was actually necessary and beneficial to California's economy, especially in the areas of domestic service, farm labor, laundries, market gardening, and peddling. No direct competition existed between whites and Chinese laborers, because most Chinese worked in unattractive occupations, and more importantly, whites would not and ought not to be satisfied with such employment.⁴⁸

Throughout the seventies, then, *Union* editors maintained a policy, formulated as early as 1868, that workingmen were falsely agitating against Chinese laborers. Conditions in Sacramento proved that there was no economic basis for the Chinese threat to white laboring men and, as a corollary, that there was no need for organized labor anywhere in California.

Although the editors of the *Union* had stated in 1869 that it was only a few "political demagogues, who either see now, or apprehend in the future, any damage from Asiatic immigration," by the late 1870's the newspapermen had joined the majority of Californians who had become convinced of the need to exclude the Chinese

from California.⁴⁹ Having rejected the economic arguments of white labor organizers who urged exclusion of the Chinese, what was the basis of the *Union's* growing opposition to Chinese immigration in the late seventies?

On the question of social interaction with the Chinese and the effects of Chinese culture in California,⁵⁰ the *Union* had vacillated during the 1850's and early 1860's. The paper had praised, been amused by, or tolerated many aspects of Chinese culture during the early years, for example, their lavish rituals, fine clothing and silks, and excellent cuisine.⁵¹ The first amateur theatricals in Sacramento were credited to local Chinese people who in 1855 set up a puppet theatre seating 100 people in the back of a gambling establishment on I Street. Although the dialogue was in Chinese, whites also patronized the performances.⁵² Whites were impressed by traditional Chinese celebrations—especially displays of fireworks—and the *Union* favorably reported such proceedings.⁵³ On the other hand, the *Union* sometimes referred to the "Celestials" as a "nation of imbeciles," as "immoral" and a "nuisance," and as an "inferior race" with whom "superior" whites ought not to mingle.⁵⁴ Although the prospects of the China trade in the late sixties aroused considerable support for cultural interaction, the *Union* even concluding in 1869 that "unerring statistics show that they are on the average nearly twice as moral as the whites,"⁵⁵ in the next decade *Union* editors began to focus negatively on cultural interaction between whites and Chinese.

In an unprecedentedly lengthy article in January, 1873, titled "Le Quartier Chinois," the *Union* described positively the Chinese way of life in Sacramento, including Chinese business and culture. The Chinese quarter was situated near the river between G and L and Second and Sixth streets, and I Street, Chinatown's main street, housed many Chinese vegetable dealers, drug stores, pastry shops, carpenters, and cobblers. Fifty-five Chinese wash-houses, according to the *Union*,



employed 300 men, and, like most Chinese businesses, they were regulated by a cooperative guild, an institution transferred from China, that fixed prices and divided profits among members. Chinese physicians treated their sick, and the community supplied every necessary service to its own.⁵⁶

The *Union* praised these economic pursuits and openly admired Chinese businessmen for their excellent craftsmanship, thrift, and industriousness. The successful and growing Chinese shoe business in Sacramento, for example, stemmed from the merchants' "sterling integrity and word [which] is as good as their bond." Large numbers of Chinese moved into agriculture in the Sacramento Valley after the completion of the trans-continental railroad, and their model vegetable gardens, located in the area between the R Street levee and Sutterville, were cited as testimony to their considerable

agrarian skills. The *Union*, consistent with its capitalist and laissez-faire economic philosophy, openly admired the Chinese' hard work and economic success.⁵⁷

While the *Union's* lengthy article on the Chinese in 1873 had also mentioned colorful but less admired Chinatown business establishments on I Street—opium "dens of infamy" and houses of prostitution—by 1876 the *Union* reported with concern that as many as sixteen opium dens operated in Sacramento on I Street between Second and Third. *Union* reporters investigating the scene in this later article concluded that nearly all Chinese smoked opium and that "scores and scores of unemployed Chinese in the city at all times" passed their time smoking the substance. Chinese working in the city or outlying areas congregated on I Street in the evenings where they were entertained at gambling establishments, and by 1876 the *Union* reported sixteen



In the 1850's and early 1860's the Union editors had tolerated and even enjoyed Chinese cultural life. Theater productions featuring elaborately costumed actors (above, photo c.1890) and restaurants serving unfamiliar but delicious fare (left) were patronized by Caucasian Californians.

or eighteen daily Chinese lotteries in the quarter whose "thriving business" was aided by corrupted white men and women who also purchased lottery tickets.⁵⁸

By the late seventies *Union* editorials concentrated exclusively on these vices which, they concluded, exercised an immoral influence on local white boys. Chinese prostitution was characterized as traffic in human life no different from the slave trade. For the benefit of readers in the eastern United States in the centennial year, the *Union* reported that "no other foreign nationality supplies so large a percentage of criminals in California as the Chinese." Voicing another popular criticism, the *Union* determined the Chinese to be "pagans" who could never be converted to Christianity and would therefore never have an emotional or spiritual commitment to the goals of white society.⁵⁹

By the late seventies and early eighties, the *Union* evidenced no doubts about the negative effects of Chinese social and cultural influence in California. An 1881 statement concluded, for example, that Chinese "colonies" within American communities were "disgraceful to American civilization" and that they "enabled the Chinese to carry on a government of their own . . . maintaining slavery, upholding a barbarous code." The Chinese presence threatened not America's economy, as labor organizers argued, but American civilization itself. Unabashedly racist, the *Union* urged that cultural assimilation of the Chinese could simply never occur since "this is emphatically a white man's country, and a white man's government . . . [and] the Chinaman is not and cannot be a white man. . . ." But although the non-assimilation issue became the public basis for the *Union* editors finally adopting a policy supporting Chinese exclusion, more important political considerations were behind the *Union's* search for a legitimate justification for excluding the Chinese from California.⁶⁰

In 1875 the Democratic party overwhelmingly defeated Republican candidates in elections throughout the state. The problems in the Republican party in

California were symptomatic of a national crisis in the party in the seventies, typified by the notorious scandals of President Grant's second administration and by the 1876 election in which Republican presidential nominee Hayes found it necessary to bargain his way to victory. The national repudiation of Republicanism was expressed in anti-capital, anti-monopoly, and anti-railroad terms, and Californians injected a hearty anti-Chinese sentiment into the political arena.

Challenged for political survival, the Republican party vigorously sought to regain the support of California voters. By 1880 it had succeeded, with the Republicans carrying state elections by a large majority.⁶¹ Several harsh political lessons of the seventies, however, had influenced the character of this Republican revival and not incidentally brought the *Union* to a new position on the nagging "Chinese question."

In the early 1870's, the editors of the *Union* and their Republican supporters had attempted to mitigate some of the Republican and capitalist excesses that had alienated so many voters. In 1873, Republican governor Newton Booth, with the wholehearted support of the *Union*, led an energetic statewide reform movement under the name of the Independent party. This new coalition of concerned citizens, both Republicans and Democrats, represented an effort to oust the corrupt pro-railway leadership of the Republican party machinery in California which, the *Union* openly admitted, had turned the Republican party into a "private railway corporation." In part the *Union's* attack on the railroad reflected statewide disillusionment with the transcontinental railroad which brought on a series of economic recessions instead of the promised prosperity to California. It was not surprising, therefore, that this *Union*-sponsored Independent party received tremen-

The "foreignness" of Chinese ghetto life came increasingly under attack by white workingmen -- even the toy peddler who captivated the young girls in Arnold Genthe's c.1890 photograph of San Francisco Chinatown.

The Republican party began to advertise that it was the only party which could deliver an exclusion solution to the Chinese problem.

dous popular support and that enough of its candidates won their state legislative elections in 1873 to control that body.⁶²

Ironically, this great political victory spelled the end for the trio of editors who had controlled the newspaper since 1853. The Independent movement had naturally engendered considerable hostility among the railroad owners under attack. Collis P. Huntington, for instance, lamented to Mark Hopkins that national newspapers were picking up state newspaper stories on California's anti-railroad movement. Huntington's correspondence also reflects his anger and bitterness at the press in general, but at the *Union* in particular as the recognized leader of California's anti-railroad forces. Eventually, Huntington insisted that the railroads had to "put a lid on" the press. While there are conflicting interpretations as to how instrumental Huntington was in forcing the sale of the *Union*, it is certain that the trio of Anthony and Company sold their highly successful paper in 1875 at less than top price (\$200,000 each "in dividends") and that the *Union* was immediately merged with the *Record*, a Sacramento daily owned since 1867 by the Big Four railroadmen. This development, of course, explains the sudden reversal in the coverage afforded the railroads in the post-merger *Union* columns.⁶³

By late 1875 *Record-Union* editorials again defended the actions of the Central Pacific Railroad on a variety of heated issues. For example, when workingmen charged that the railroad preferentially hired Chinese

laborers before whites, the *Union* maintained that the railroad was forced to use the Chinese because no whites applied for the jobs. In 1876 when Governor Stanford stated that railroad corporations ought not to be regulated, the *Union* applauded, giving the following reasons: First, laws restricting corporations had no legal justification; secondly, such regulatory legislation was never successful anyway; thirdly, the intimate relationship between capital and the citizen should not be tampered with; and finally, injustice to corporations would never help the laborer. The statewide Democratic victories in 1875, however, testified to the inadequacy of the Republican party's self-reform efforts, including the Independent party, and to the failure of the Central Pacific's attempts to stifle or buy out the press.⁶⁴

In the late seventies, in-fighting among Republicans, as represented by the Independent party, suddenly halted. Businessmen united to face their fiercest opponents, labor radicals. The power wielded by Kearney's Workingmen's party at the California Constitutional Convention in 1878 provided solid evidence of the serious challenge being raised to Republicanism and capitalism itself. For example, the Kearneyites at the convention insured that a large number of anti-Chinese measures were adopted as part of the state's new constitution (they were all later declared unconstitutional by the federal courts). The *Union*, along with railroad interests, banks, and Sacramento's business community, bitterly opposed this constitution so largely framed by workingmen, but found themselves disturbingly powerless against the workingmen's forces.⁶⁵

Although the old *Union* had consistently criticized workingmen "demagogues" for politically exploiting the Chinese issue, the radicals had made it such a central issue in the state that the paper now adopted a similar survival tactic. When the Republican party began to advertise that it was the only party that could deliver an exclusion solution to the Chinese problem in Cali-



for California, the *Union* pointed out to its readers that the only legal means to secure exclusion was modification by the federal government of the existing Burlingame Treaty and trade agreement which permitted immigration of Chinese laborers. It was necessary, therefore, to convince the rest of the nation of the seriousness of California's problem with the Chinese.⁶⁶

Toward this end, the *Union* editors' strategy was consistent with their long-standing conservatism and their Republican party emphasis on law and order. Promoting legal procedures as the only means by which to achieve the goal of exclusion, *Union* columns attempted to convince Californians that anti-Chinese agitation would only hinder efforts to persuade easterners that Californians were not motivated to exclude the

Chinese by "vulgar race prejudice," but by the "legitimate" reason of cultural non-assimilation. Accordingly, *Union* editorials supported the formation of state and national congressional investigative committees to study the question. These committee hearings, held in 1876, 1877, and 1878, successfully aroused anti-Chinese sentiments in a national audience, and discussion usually centered on "immoral" social habits and "vices" attributed to the Chinese. The *Union* also called for a vote in California on the question of Chinese immigration—a measure taken in 1880 which predictably proved overwhelming support for exclusion—as another method of alerting national lawmakers to popular sentiment. It is interesting to note that the *Union* observed that California capitalists who favored immi-

gration for legitimate economic reasons had generously made no effort to compromise the clear-cut election results.⁶⁷

Although the Republican party regained power in 1880, and although it promoted moderate measures to secure exclusion, the "Chinese problem" grew ever more serious. Increased violence against the Chinese erupted throughout the state in such places as Los Angeles, Rocklin, Grass Valley, Martinez, and San Francisco.⁶⁸

In response, *Union* editors insisted that "incendiary appeals" of Kearneyite "demagogues and blatherskites" would only prove counterproductive to their efforts to win easterners to their cause. They also condemned the workingmen's "fierce, wild-beast" actions as insidiously directed against the laws of the United States, against the hearts and homes, wives and children of all Americans. Having made this political distinction between good and bad, moral and immoral, the *Union* editors bragged that only "Republicans represent[ed] the principles of law and order and civilized progress. . . ."⁶⁹

When the U.S. Congress finally acted in 1878 and passed legislation excluding the Chinese, Republican President Hayes vetoed the measure because of the eastern commercial community's fears that it would interfere with the Asia trade. Believing by this time that treaty modifications could have no effect on United States-China foreign relations or United States commercial interests in China, *Union* editors were disappointed with the president's veto, but they remained hopeful because Hayes' veto message was sympathetic, and his differences with California appeared to be ones of means, not ends. *Union* editors, therefore, cautioned Californians to view the veto as a temporary setback and urged them to persevere in their "missionary work" of educating ignorant easterners who seemed to be concerned only with "this 'brotherhood of man' business."⁷⁰

Between 1879 and 1882 when the exclusion act was finally passed, the California legislature responded to continuing public clamor and passed many pieces of anti-Chinese legislation, all of which were later declared unconstitutional. The laws, however, embodied California's frustration with the lack of action in Washington and the belief that matters must be taken into its own hands. Throughout this period the *Union* maintained that only the federal government could legislate relief on this issue and that these state legislative attempts exemplified the ignorance and waste of public money which had always characterized Kearneyite and workmen politicians.⁷¹

Continued pressure from California produced new exclusion legislation in 1881 that passed the United States Congress and was sent to President Arthur for signature. California Governor Perkins declared a legal holiday on March 6 so that mass demonstrations might be held to impress the East Coast with the state's overwhelming support of the legislation. *Union* editors again were optimistic about passage, but in early April of 1882, President Arthur vetoed the bill, objecting that the proposed twenty-year exclusion provision was against the spirit of treaties with China. He suggested, however, that he would sign amended legislation reducing the exclusion period to five or ten years.⁷²

President Arthur's veto was enough to cause some frustrated California Republicans to desert to the Democratic party. Staunchly in the Republican fold, the *Union* interpreted these Republican desertions to the Democratic camp as a "repudiation of those [Republicans] who have labored most assiduously for the passage of the Chinese bill." Although somewhat shaken by the veto, the *Union* insisted that the Democrats could never bring in exclusion legislation because a Democratic-sponsored exclusion bill would always be interpreted by easterners as the fruit of irrational race prejudice such as that which had caused the Civil War.⁷³

As amended legislation neared passage later that same

Traditional queues and dress and the "pagan" ceremonies in joss houses (photograph of Weaverville house built in 1879, below) came to symbolize the Chinese immigrants' disinterest in assimilating into Anglo American culture.



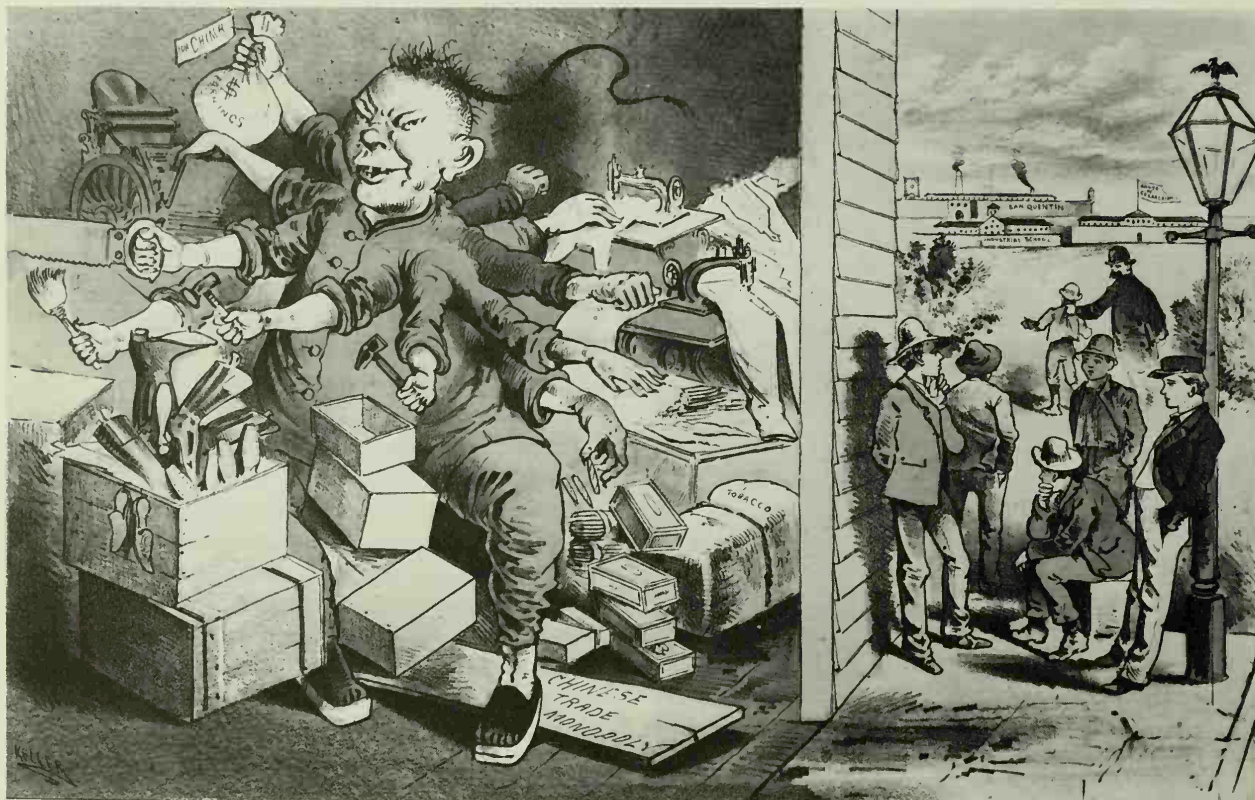
April, the *Union* charged that California Democrats were trying to prevent passage of the legislation in order not to lose the issue that had gained them so much support over the years. On the other hand, Republicans speaking through the *Union* sought to remove the issue from the political arena to a higher level of historical importance. Reflected the *Union*:

We have become engaged in a contest which we cannot . . . abandon, and however tedious the struggle may be, we are compelled to go on with it, simply because it is a question of life or death to Anglo-Saxon civilization in the Pacific States.⁷⁴

Finally, on May 8, 1882, President Arthur signed an amended bill which established a ten-year period of exclusion. In the years leading to the event the issue had been taken far beyond the reality of Chinese immigration and exploited for political purposes by Democrats, Republicans, and the Workingmen's party. This truth was no better demonstrated than in the *Union's* victorious editorial on May 9, a statement which barely mentioned the Chinese. Using the occasion to state again that if the bill had failed to pass, the blame would have been with the Democrats and Republican deserters, they congratulated the great Republican party as the only party that could have delivered exclusion legislation for California.⁷⁵

That the powerful Central Pacific railroad monopoly found it necessary to maneuver the end of a great and once supportive California newspaper testifies to the success and influence of Anthony and Company's *Sacramento Union*. After the forced sale and merger in 1875, Anthony, Larkin, and Morrill were all well advanced in years and, according to accounts, not willing to begin another newspaper or engage in other businesses. In fact, each had little time left. Anthony died a

Unemployment and fear of competition with Chinese labor sparked this Wasp cartoon in which the "Chinese trade monopoly" resulted in unemployed youths being imprisoned in San Quentin.



year later on January 6, 1876, and Larkin followed him by only a few months. Morrill, 63 years old and probably the youngest of the three, received an appointment as surveyor of customs in the port of San Francisco from Governor Newton Booth, a long-time friend of the *Union*. He died in 1880. Under the three men's leadership the *Union* was best remembered as the great friend of the Republican and Northern cause during the Civil War, as the greatest advocate in the state of construction of the transcontinental railroad, and as a good Republican paper capable of an independent political stand, such as in the anti-railroad monopoly movement in 1873.⁷⁶

During the tenure of Anthony and Company the *Union* appears to have had no conflicts of interest based on financial investments outside the paper or on political party obligations that might have interfered with their editorial stands on the "Chinese question." After 1875, however, the paper was different. Thereafter, this newspaper's uncritical affection for the railroad was demonstrated under the partisan management of William Mills. In fact, Mills left the *Union* in 1883 to become land agent for the Southern Pacific Railroad. In 1889 his position in the company was elevated, and he became land agent for another branch of the monopoly and director and vice-president of the Central Pacific,

The success of the Workingmen's Party of California ticket at the state constitutional convention in 1878 forced the Republican party to compete to deliver full exclusion to state voters.

managing large land disposals in the San Joaquin Valley.⁷⁷

For thirty years the *Union* unflinchingly supported the presence and economic contributions of Chinese laborers in California. The Foreign Miners' Tax, paid largely by the Chinese, had provided essential revenue for the operation of state and county governments. When the potential of the China trade loomed large, the *Union* vigorously supported Chinese immigration. The editors admired the industrious, thrifty, and successful Chinese businessmen in Sacramento and refuted organized labor's claims that the Chinese competed unfairly with white workers. The editors steadfastly defended the presence of Chinese labor because it promoted the interests of businessmen and capitalists.


Social and political factors, however, continually rendered the *Union's* position on the "Chinese question" ambivalent. The editors' eventual adoption of cultural non-assimilation as the rationale for exclusion was consistent with their long-standing aversion to social and cultural contact with Chinese immigrants.

The political chaos of the seventies produced serious criticisms of California Republicanism and caused the *Union* to assert a new and active political role in solution of the "Chinese question." Its "law and order" line contributed to the conservative character of the Republican exclusion campaign. The *Union's* boast that only the Republican party could achieve the necessary federal exclusion solution made for effective political rhetoric in 1882 when the federal government finally handed down the decision, but it insufficiently credited the decades-old anti-Chinese movement in California.

The opinions of Sacramento's *Union* editors represented a significant and influential element of California society and politics during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. To a greater degree than heretofore investigated by historians, their ideas appear to have shaped California's reaction to Chinese immigration.

As a footnote, anti-Chinese agitation in California, of course, did not cease with the passage of the federal

REGULAR WORKINGMEN'S TICKET, CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO.



FOR

1. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, PAUL BONNET.
2. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, ANTHONY FISCHER.
3. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, J. W. JAMISON.
4. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, JAMES KIDNEY.
5. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, J. R. PICO.
6. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, JOHN R. SHARPSTEIN.
7. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, CHARLES TILSON.
8. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, JOHN A. WHELAN.
9. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, P. S. DORNEY.
10. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, J. B. KELLY.
11. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, H. P. WILLIAMS.
12. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, T. L. McKELNEY.
13. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, JOHN GREENWELL.
14. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, L. J. MORROW.
15. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, G. THOM.
16. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, J. M. FORD.
17. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, W. F. STONE.
18. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, W. H. NORTHCUTT.
19. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, D. M. GLOSTER.
20. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, JOHN C. CRIGLER.
21. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, J. C. GARBER.
22. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, H. A. BOYLE.
23. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, JONAS SPECT.
24. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, W. M. THORP.
25. DELEGATE AT LARGE TO CONST'L CONVENTION, J. A. B. BUNNELL.

exclusion act in 1882. Discrimination and acts of violence against the Chinese laborers remaining in California became more intense as the years passed. The exclusion "solution" to the "Chinese question," furthermore, served as the model for California's treatment of later immigrant groups, such as the Japanese who began arriving in California in the 1880's and 1890's, ironically, to fill the labor void created by the excluded Chinese.

The photographs on pages 12, 15 (bottom), and 18, and the March 3, 1882, Wasp cartoon on page 28, are courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The photograph on page 15 (top) is from the Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library; on pages 16, 17, 22, 25, and 27 (bottom), from the CHS Library; on pages 18 and 29, from the California State Library, Sacramento; and on page 27 (top), from the San Francisco Maritime Museum. The drawing reproduced on page 21 is taken from [Edward] Vischer's Pictorial of California Landscape (San Francisco, 1870).

Notes

1. Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939), p. 11; B. M. Ziegler, ed., *Immigration: An American Dilemma* (1953), p. 82.
2. Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1909), pp. 425, 503; John T. C. Fang, *Yee Fow: The Chinese Community in Sacramento* (Chinese Publishing House, 1961), p. 28.
3. Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 30; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 83.
4. Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858* (Sacramento: *Daily Union*, 1858), pp. 90, 94, 114-16, 122, 126.
5. Sacramento County Historical Society, *Golden Notes*, October 1964, p. 11, 16-23.
6. Thor Severson, *Sacramento; An Illustrated History, 1839 to 1874* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973), pp. 125-26; Kemble, *California Newspapers*, 148-150; Ella Sterling Cummins, *The Story of the Files; A Review of California Writers and Literature* (San Francisco: World's Fair Commission of California, 1893), pp. 77-93; *Sacramento Union*, March 11, 1859, p. 1.
7. Sacramento Bee, *Sacramento County and Its Resources: A Souvenir of the Bee* (Sacramento: 1894), p. 153.
8. Cummins, *Story of the Files*, 77.
9. Kemble, *California Newspapers*, 147-49; *Union*, March 19, 1851.
10. *Union*, May 30, 1851, p. 2; June 7, 1852, p. 2; Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento: California State Library, 1893), *passim*.
11. *Union*, March 27, 1854, p. 2; June 9, 1856, p. 2; April 24, 1854, p. 2.
12. *Union*, August 8, 1854, p. 2; June 24, 1854, p. 2; August 9, 1854, p. 2.
13. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 38.
14. See, for example, *Union*, April 15, 1859, p. 1; March 3, 1859, p. 2; Feb. 26, 1859, p. 2; April 25, 1855, p. 2; Jan. 5, 1858, p. 2; April 7, 1858, p. 1; March 3, 1858, p. 2.
15. "A Gold Rush Letter from A. C. Edwards," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 43 (Sept., 1964): 248.
16. *Union*, Feb. 5, 1859, p. 2; Feb. 10, 1859, p. 4.
17. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 29-54.
18. *Ibid.*, 36.
19. *Union*, March 6, 1858, p. 2; Jan. 26, 1859, p. 2.
20. Stephen Williams, *The Chinese in the California Mines, 1848-1860* (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1971, originally published 1930), p. 69; *Union*, August 2, 1860, p. 2; March 10, 1856, p. 2; May 30, 1856, p. 2.
21. *Union*, April 9, 1858, p. 2; June 15, 1858, p. 2.
22. *Union*, May 30, 1856, p. 2.
23. *Union*, April 7, 1858, p. 2.
24. *Union*, March 6, 1858, p. 2; March 8, 1858, p. 2; March 10, 1858, p. 3.
25. *Union*, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 4; George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 49 (March 1970): 21-37; *Union*, Jan. 17, 1862, p. 2; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 33-34; *Union*, Feb. 19, 1862, p. 3.
26. Ira Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), pp. 28-31.
27. Edwin L. Sabin, *Building the Pacific Railway* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 30., 1919), *passim*.
28. *Ibid.*, 228; *Union*, June 28, 1869, p. 2; March 5, 1868, p. 2.
29. *Union*, March 26, 1857, p. 2; March 9, 1867, p. 2.
30. *Union*, March 5, 1868, p. 2; March 5, 1868, p. 2; June 2, 1869, p. 4.
31. *Union*, March 5, 1868, p. 2.
32. *Union*, Jan. 11, 1869, p. 2.
33. *Union*, May 1, 1868, p. 2.
34. Davis, *Political Conventions*, 293; *Union*, Jan 3, 1867, p. 4.
35. *Union*, Dec. 13, 1869, p. 2.
36. *Union*, March 5, 1868, p. 2; Nov. 27, 1869, p. 8; Feb. 26, 1867, p. 2; Feb. 28, 1879, p. 2.
37. Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 40.
38. *Union*, May 3, 1867, p. 2; April 20, 1876, p. 2; August 2, 1877, p. 2.
39. *Union*, Feb. 2, 1878, p. 2; July 25, 1877, p. 2.
40. *Union*, Feb. 26, 1867, p. 2.
41. In the early 1850's Sacramento's printers, bricklayers, and hod-carriers formed local unions, but the Civil War forestalled further organizing. By 1867 an Eight-Hour League was formed, and in the same year Sacramento bricklayers went on strike for an eight-hour day, as did Chinese railroad workers in Sacramento County who struck unsuccessfully for higher wages. In March of 1873, the Workingmen's Alliance of the Pacific Coast was created in Sacramento, to be followed in May by a Sacramento chapter of the People's Protective Alliance—a group including workingmen allied to promote anti-Chinese agitation. A chapter of a similar but extremely anti-capitalist group, the Workingmen's Party of the United States, was organized in Sacramento in 1876. See Cross, *History of Labor Movement*, 21, 23, 28, 43, 53, 56, 85, and *passim*.
42. Cross, *History of Labor Movement*, 105-6.
43. Lucille Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation* (Berkeley: U. C. Press, 1910), p. 34.
44. *Union*, March 14, 1867, p. 2; April 12, 1876, p. 3; April 24, 1876, p. 3; Cross, *History of Labor Movement*, 138.
45. Alexander P. Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: A Study of the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: U.C. Press, 1967), pp. 187, 194-95, *passim*; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 116; *Union*, Jan. 1, 1878, p. 4; June 18, 1878, p. 2; Feb. 2, 1878,

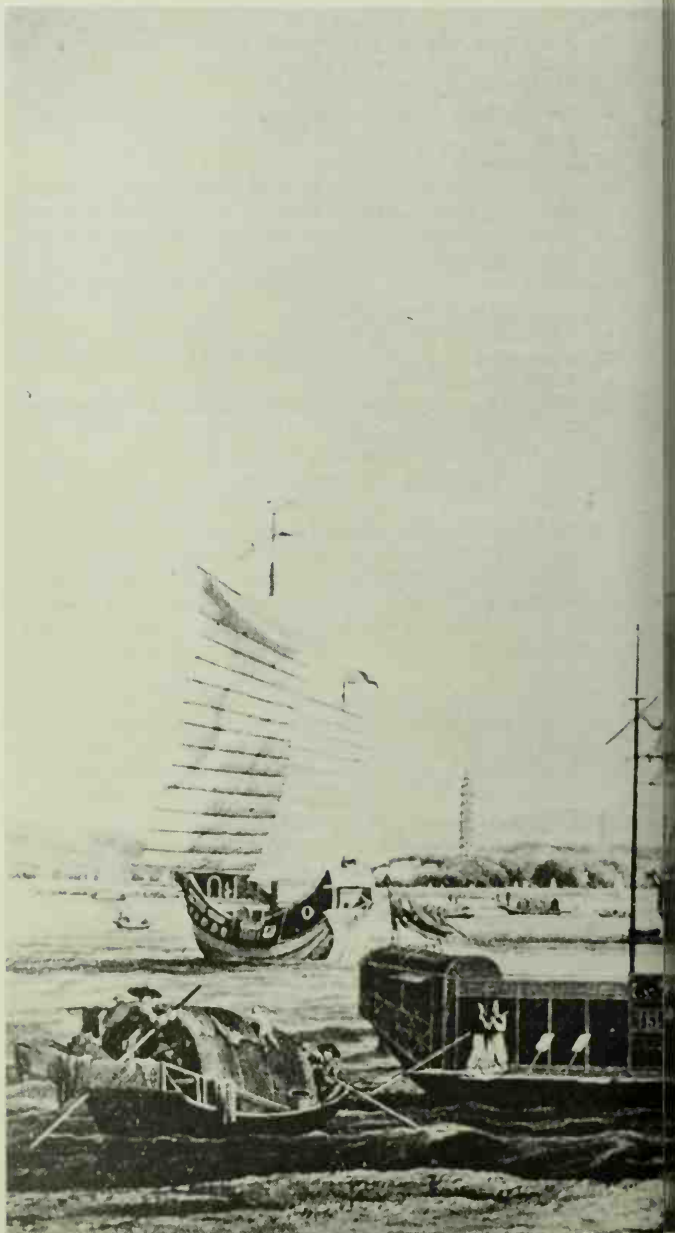
- p. 2; Jan. 21, 1878, p. 2; July 25, 1877, p. 2.
46. *Union*, July 25, 1877, p. 2; July 25, 1877, p. 2.
47. *Union*, July 26, 1877, p. 2.
48. *Union*, August 2, 1877, p. 2; Feb. 17, 1880, p. 2; May 27, 1881, p. 2.
49. *Union*, June 2, 1869, p. 4.
50. See *Union*, Oct. 24, 1854, p. 2; April 18, 1855, p. 2; May 25, 1855, p. 2; May 10, 1856, p. 2; March 4, 1857, p. 2; Nov. 23, 1858, p. 3; March 8, 1862, p. 2; March 13, 1862, p. 2; Nov. 11, 1869, p. 3; Dec. 10, 1869, p. 2.
51. *Union*, Oct. 1, 1858, p. 1; May 4, 1860, p. 2; Aug. 18, 1856, p. 2.
52. Severson, *Sacramento*, 148.
53. *Union*, Jan. 24, 1857, p. 2.
54. *Union*, Aug. 9, 1854, p. 2; Feb. 25, 1858, p. 4; Feb. 5, 1859, p. 2.
55. *Union*, Nov. 27, 1869, p. 8.
56. *Union*, Jan. 11, 1873. The *Union* article listed the following other Chinese activities in Sacramento in 1873: 25 cigar makers in five factories, 10 retail grocery stores, 3 large grocery wholesalers, 3 interpreters, 1 railroad company agent, 1 pawnbroker, 3 eating houses, 6 lotteries, 1 "joss" house beyond Sutter Lake, 6 drug stores, 70-80 vegetable gardeners, 12 barbers in six shops, 7 doctors, 2 shoe manufacturers, 2 fruit stands, 4 butcher shops and 2 slaughter yards, 1 English school for Chinese held in Congregational Church (average attendance of 20 with "most satisfactory progress"), 125 prostitutes, 150 other businessmen.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Union*, Feb. 23, 1876, p. 1.
59. *Union*, April 19, 1876, p. 2; April 18, 1876, p. 2; May 2, 1876, p. 2; May 13, 1876, p. 8. In a "Letter to the Editor" one Sacramento clergyman challenged the popular impression that Sacramento's Christian churches were unable to convert the Chinese. He reported that although only eight Chinese had been baptized into the Presbyterian Church, an average of sixty-three Chinese attended Sunday service with a like number attending week-night English language classes. He concluded: "Other churches in the city would give the same testimony." *Union*, May 13, 1876.
60. *Union*, Sept. 20, 1881, p. 2; April 8, 1876, p. 4; Feb. 27, 1878, p. 2; May 2, 1878, p. 2; Jan. 20, 1881, p. 2.
61. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 110-23.
62. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 14:365. See discussion in John W. Caughey, *California; A Remarkable State's Life History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 320-26; *Union*, Sept. 9, 1873, p. 2; June 12, 1873, p. 2; June 23, 1873, p. 2; June 26, 1873, p. 2, 3. It was ironic that Sacramento, which had been at the forefront of railroad promotion in California, expressed the greatest reaction to the failure of the railroads to meet their promises in California. As the China trade failed to bring expected profits, Sacramentans saw their city becoming only a way station for the Central Pacific on the main line to San Francisco.
63. Cummins, *Story of the Files*, 77-94; Norman E. Tutorow, *Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers* (Menlo Park, California: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1971), p. 132; Collis P. Huntington and Mark Hopkins Correspondence, Microfilm Collection, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Volume 4, Feb. 20, 1873, and August 11, 1873.
64. *Union*, May 10, 1876, p. 2; Jan. 31, 1876, p. 2.
65. Caughey, *California*, 320-26.
66. *Union*, May 5, 1876, p. 2; June 26, 1873, p. 2; Aug. 14, 1871, p. 1.
67. *Union*, Jan. 20, 1881, p. 2; Dec. 22, 1877, p. 4; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 123. See California Senate Documents on exclusion, speeches before California Senate Investigating Committee, 1876 and 1877; and Speeches before U.S. Senate and House of Representatives Investigating Committee, 1878, *Chinese Pamphlets*, Vols. I and II, California State Library, California Collection, Sacramento. Also Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 96-108.
68. *Union*, Oct. 28, 1871, p. 5; May 12, 1876, p. 2; Oct. 17, 1877, p. 2; Oct. 21, 1877, p. 2; Oct. 19, 1877, p. 1; July 9, 1879, p. 2; July 12, 1879, p. 4; April 27, 1882, p. 1; July 13, 1882, p. 2; Dec. 7, 1882, p. 1; Oct. 4, 1882, p. 1; Oct. 5, 1882, p. 3.
69. *Union*, April 3, 1876, p. 2; April 4, 1876, p. 2; Feb. 28, 1879, p. 2; March 18, 1879, p. 4; July 27, 1877, p. 2; Mar. 22, 1880, p. 2; Mar. 4, 1879, p. 2; Aug. 14, 1871, p. 1.
70. William M. Armstrong, "Godkin and Chinese Labor: A Paradox in Nineteenth Century Liberalism," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 1 (January, 1962): 97; *Union*, May 27, 1878, p. 2; March 8, 1879, p. 5; Dec. 6, 1881, p. 2; March 3, 1879, p. 2.
71. *Union*, Feb. 2, 1880, p. 2; Feb. 14, 1880, p. 1; Feb. 12, 1880, p. 4; April 2, 1880, p. 2; April 9, 1880, p. 1; Jan. 10, 1881, p. 1; Jan. 18, 1881, p. 2; Jan. 21, 1881, p. 2; March 23, 1880, p. 2.
72. *Union*, March 3, 1882, p. 2.
73. *Union*, April 7, 1882, p. 2.
74. *Union*, April 10, 1882, p. 2.
75. *Union*, May 9, 1882, p. 2.
76. Cummins, *Story of the Files*, 77-94.
77. Sacramento Bee, *Sacramento County and Its Resources*, 153.

the diplomacy of discrimination:

"The Chinese must go!" cried angry Pacific Coast workingmen in the 1870's who rioted against the influx of Chinese immigrants to the United States.¹ Although fueled by essentially domestic grievances which had little to do with China itself, their anti-Chinese movement, whose avowed goal was total exclusion of the Chinese from the United States, held serious implications for American-Chinese international relations and Western businessmen and missionaries in China. The eventual resolution between conflicting domestic demands and diplomatic treaty agreements in the 1880's—a solution involving complicated diplomatic and political maneuvers—makes a revealing study of how domestic issues and partisan politics have influenced America's foreign policy.

In 1868 the American diplomat Anson Burlingame, traveling as China's envoy to the nations of the Western world, had negotiated a treaty in Washington, D.C., with then Secretary of State William H. Seward. The resulting Burlingame Treaty had guaranteed free immigration and legal protection to Chinese people in America,² proof, it was claimed, of American's friendship for China. The burgeoning domestic movement to exclude Chinese immigrants from the United States, however, clearly violated both the letter and the spirit of the Burlingame Treaty's policy of respect for the Chinese government and Chinese people in America.

This increasingly violent agitation for exclusion posed a grave threat to America's diplomatic position in China. Any unilateral American restriction of Chinese treaty rights in the United States, which was essentially what exclusionists demanded, could lead to retaliation by China. All of the legal rights and privileges held by Americans and Europeans in China rested on a system of so-called "unequal treaties," which British and French naval power had forced upon China after the Opium



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Chinese exclusion, 1876-1882



Sizable foreign enclaves existing in China's major coastal cities made exclusion of the Chinese from America a diplomatically sensitive issue.

War of 1839-42. These treaties gave to Westerners in China commercial, judicial, and territorial privileges which flagrantly insulted and undermined the sovereignty of the Chinese government. Under the terms of the treaties, China was forbidden to set its own tariffs, to arrest and prosecute foreigners for violations of Chinese laws, and to deny to one Western nation any treaty right or privilege granted to another nation.³ Geographically and culturally isolated from Europe, the Chinese had agreed to these one-sided treaties not only because of military pressure, but also out of ignorance of Western international law and practices.

As the years passed the Chinese saw how Western diplomats had used the tenets of international law to justify demands for ever-increasing rights and privileges in China. The treaties, for example, had legalized penetration of China by Western merchants and missionaries. By the 1870's sizable foreign enclaves existed in China's major coastal cities, and Western missionaries were busily evangelizing far into the interior of China. After more than three decades of official treaty relations with Western nations, the Chinese had learned enough about Western diplomatic practice not only to be more cautious but also to attempt to turn it to their own use. If the United States prevented Chinese immigration into California, the Chinese government might move to exclude American and European merchants and missionaries from China.

The Chinese citizens who had traveled to the United States with Burlingame in 1868 had been somewhat of a curiosity in the East, but by 1870 the Chinese in America, particularly in the western states, were viewed as the "yellow peril." Their numbers had increased from 35,000 in 1860 to over 105,000 in 1880, with 99 percent of these immigrants concentrated in the Pacific Coast region.⁴ Originally, capitalist entrepreneurs had welcomed the Chinese as a cheap labor source, but by the mid-1870's the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the growth of the white labor force in the West,

Seward expressed concern that a national anti-Chinese law might threaten the entire Western treaty system in China.

and nation-wide economic depression had encouraged white workingmen to turn against Chinese workers. White Californians deeply resented competing with what they considered to be Chinese "slave" labor. Although the Chinese immigrants were not slaves, most did come to the United States as contract laborers who worked for extremely low wages. "Chinamen" were also unacceptable because they were not Caucasian. Many Californians viewed the filth, crime, opium-smoking, and crowded conditions of local Chinatowns as racial stereotypes rather than manifestations of poverty. Economic and racial hysteria, then, helped make Chinese exclusion an urgent political issue in California.⁵

Both the Democratic and Republican parties included a plank on "Mongolian immigration" in their national platforms in 1876, because they were courting California's votes in the upcoming presidential election which they expected to be a close race. The Democrats forthrightly recommended exclusion, and the Republicans proposed that Congress investigate the effects of Chinese immigration. The Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, avoided the issue throughout the campaign, however, because his party was split on the question. Many northern and eastern Republicans, such as Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's first vice-president, opposed exclusion as racially prejudiced and contrary to America's liberal traditions. Republicans from the western states such as California Senator Aaron Sargent, on the other hand, led the fight for restrictive immigration laws.⁶

While Hayes equivocated, Sargent tried to prompt congressional action limiting the influx of Chinese. The Senate and House refused to move quickly but did set up a joint committee to investigate the question. Because of the illness and eventual death of the committee chairman, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Sargent headed the investigation. After extensive testimony, more than half of which was favorable to the Chinese and immigration, Sargent submitted a report for the committee which unequivocally recommended exclusion. Senator Morton's notes, published posthumously and based upon the same testimony, concluded that the investigation failed to prove that California had suffered either morally or economically from the presence of the Chinese. In fact, Morton argued, the state had benefited measurably from its Chinese population.⁷

Living in far-off China, George Frederick Seward, United States minister plenipotentiary in Peking and nephew of the former secretary of state, did not in 1876 consider the domestic anti-Chinese movement a serious problem. The number of Chinese emigrating to the United States would never be very large, he predicted, because the Orientals did not want to live in America. They were deterred in part by the hostile reception they received in California, but the primary reason, according to Seward, was that they "shrink from contact with our restless, energetic civilization." Only the lure of money had prompted them to relocate in America, in the minister's view, and "when the call for labor ceases to be an urgent one, the Chinaman will stop his migration in that direction."⁸

The increasing number of anti-Chinese incidents in the United States in early 1876, however, prompted the Tsungli Yamen, or Chinese foreign office, to address Minister Seward on the subject. Copying the language

*U.S. minister George F. Seward believed
that blanket exclusion would threaten the
Western treaty system in China.*
Photo by A. Fong, Hong Kong, 1879.

and arguments used innumerable times by Western diplomats, the Chinese officials reminded Seward of his nation's treaty obligations. They cited the fifth and sixth articles of the Burlingame Treaty, which guaranteed free immigration and protection to Chinese in America, and requested that Seward communicate their views to Washington, D.C. The American minister's reply read like those written by the Tsungli Yamen when faced with protests of treaty violations in China. Seward pointed out the difficulties of the situation in California, assured the Chinese that his government anxiously sought a solution to the problem, and promised to convey the foreign office's concerns to Washington.⁹

It was not until 1878 that Seward finally became concerned about the effect of the exclusion effort on American-Chinese diplomatic relations. Serious anti-Chinese rioting had occurred in San Francisco in the summer of 1877, and petitions from the California legislature had buttressed the joint congressional committee's findings in favor of exclusion. Under this pressure both houses of Congress passed resolutions urging President Hayes to seek changes in the existing treaties. At this same time China sent its first permanent envoys to the United States, and Seward feared that the Chinese ministers would:

send back to this Government some very unpleasant reports in regard to the treatment of Chinese in California, and they may in turn deal in a very cavalier way with all our efforts to secure redress for wrongs suffered by our countrymen here.¹⁰

Further, Seward expressed concern that a national anti-Chinese law might threaten the entire Western treaty system in China. Although some congressmen believed that the United States could abrogate through legislation those portions of the American treaties which guaranteed free immigration and protection to the Chinese, the minister contended that such unilateral action by the United States would set a dangerous precedent. The Chinese did not like the existing treaties, he



reminded the new secretary of state, William M. Evarts, and they would welcome justification for declaring null and void all the provisions which they found to be objectionable.¹¹

Seward believed, however, that Washington could convince the Tsungli Yamen to revise the American treaty provisions on immigration. The minister reasoned that despite the incidents in California, the Chinese in America enjoyed substantially more rights than did Americans in China. Although there was an element of sophistry in his failure to acknowledge the unequal treaties, technically he was correct in his assessment. Using this "lack of reciprocity" as a bargaining point, Seward continued, the United States could demand that China either extend more privileges to Americans or approve the desired changes in the treaty. The minister predicted:

It is very certain that China would not consent to the extension of the privileges enjoyed by foreigners in this coun-

In 1878 officials of Chinatown's Six Companies and onlookers welcomed the first resident Chinese ambassador, Chun Lan Pin, and consular corps (far right) to San Francisco in the cabin of the City of Tokio anchored in the Bay.



try, and it is possible that, rather than do this, she would agree to such a revision of our treaties as I have indicated.¹²

Seward's fears of unilateral congressional action were realized in January, 1879, when the House passed a bill permitting only fifteen Chinese people to enter the United States on any one ship docking on the West Coast. The Senate concurred and added an amendment authorizing the president to abrogate Articles V and VI of the Burlingame Treaty.¹³ The western congressmen had finally managed to force action on exclusion.

Many other Americans, however, began to push for a presidential veto. Most eastern newspaper editors and politicians contended that the fifteen-passenger bill violated the sanctity of treaties and reversed America's traditional open-door immigration policy. The *New York Times*, for example, argued that "the enactment of this bill into a law would violate all the principles upon which our government is founded."¹⁴ Religious and commercial groups complained that the bill invited "the danger of retaliatory action" against American missionaries and businessmen in China.¹⁵

Not surprisingly, President Hayes vetoed the bill. His concern, however, was not with the substance of the legislation but with the method of limitation. Hayes indicated privately that he considered the Chinese "labor invasion" to be "pernicious," classifying the Chinese as one of the "weaker races," along with Negroes and Indians, who would be oppressed in the United States and would make their oppressors "hoodlums or vagabonds." Hayes therefore favored the limitation of Chinese immigration—but by some means consistent with the treaties and with recognized international practices.¹⁶ In reaching this decision Hayes may have conferred with Minister Seward, who was in Washington in February, 1879, because several of the minister's views appeared in the president's public and private statements on the exclusion issue. While preparing to veto the bill Hayes recorded in his diary:

We have accepted the advantages which the treaty gives us. Our traders, missionaries and travelers are domiciled in China. Important interests have grown up under the treaty, and rest upon faith in its observance. One of the parties to a treaty cannot rightfully by legislation violate it.¹⁷

In his veto message to Congress, the president noted that if the United States abrogated part of the treaty, the Chinese would be free to renounce the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858 upon which rested all American rights in China.¹⁸

After successfully blocking unilateral congressional action, Hayes began his own diplomatic steps to limit Chinese immigration. "It should be made certain *by proper methods*," he wrote in his diary, "that such an invasion [of Chinese workers] can not permanently override our people. It cannot safely be admitted into the bosom of our American society."¹⁹ Accordingly, Hayes' Secretary of State Evarts instructed Seward to enter into preparatory discussions with the Chinese government on the subject of immigration and to allay their



concern about the growing exclusion movement. Evarts also requested facts on the contract labor system and on the number of criminals and other undesirables who emigrated from China. His instructions did not authorize Seward to make any specific treaty proposals, because Hayes and Evarts themselves hoped to draft some revisions acceptable to Americans both at home and in China.²⁰

Seward welcomed the opportunity to discuss the immigration question with the Chinese, but he bent his instructions to conform to his own views. Considering massive immigration unlikely, he therefore deemed exclusion an unnecessary complication of the American position in China. Although Seward had frequently ignored the Tsungli Yamen when he found their objections to Western activity troublesome, in this case he exceeded his instructions by assuring the Chinese officials that he sympathized with their grievances. From the perspective of the legation in Peking, antagonizing the Chinese with restrictive legislation would stupidly

exacerbate the chronic Oriental hostility and suspicion toward the West. Meeting with the Tsungli Yamen, Seward boldly expressed the hope that the imperial government would voluntarily limit the emigration of paupers, criminals, and prostitutes to the United States, and thereby he violated his instructions to make no specific proposals to the Chinese. He also refused to raise the question of contract labor, despite Evarts' request for information on this point. In Seward's estimation the Chinese were sensitive to criticism on contract emigration (the so-called "coolie trade"), and broaching the subject would only further irritate an already difficult situation. Instead he chose to be almost apologetic about the anti-Chinese incidents in California and to assure the Tsungli Yamen of America's devotion to "liberal government and humanity."²¹ Following his meeting with the Chinese officials, Seward informed Washington in July that

the sooner we rise to the idea of dealing with this Government as being actuated by very much the same motives of



SAN FRANCISCO. Must I support them all?

dignity, patriotism and public policy which actuates other governments, the sooner we shall be able to place our relations upon an enduring basis of good will and common interests.²²

Seward may have echoed the Burlingame Treaty's doctrine of respect for the Chinese, but he spoke from expediency, not principle. As United States consul general in Shanghai for thirteen years before advancing to the post of minister in 1876, Seward had consistently promoted Western commercial interests. By both inclination and instinct, he thought in terms of what would best serve the needs of Westerners in China, not justice for the Chinese. "Our people in this part of the world, merchants and missionaries," he reiterated in August, "would be much reassured if they could know even that the disruption of our relations with China may be averted."²³

Seward's official efforts to resolve the immigration issue came to an abrupt halt in 1880. With national elec-

tions approaching in the United States, the Hayes administration identified Seward as a political liability. The minister's refusal to pursue vigorously the immigration issue with the Tsungli Yamen began costing the Republicans potential votes in Pacific Coast states. Moreover, a concerted, although unsuccessful, effort the preceding year in the House of Representatives to impeach Seward for peculation and other alleged offenses in China also made him a political detriment to his party.²⁴ Accordingly, Evarts asked Seward for his resignation. When the minister stubbornly refused, Hayes formally recalled Seward from his post. Before leaving China, however, Seward made a parting attempt to thwart the exclusion movement. In a farewell gathering he tried to prejudice a high-ranking Chinese official against revision of the Burlingame Treaty by telling him that only the "Irish rabble" in the United States favored exclusion. Further, the exiting minister predicted that future American proposals on Chinese immigration

Although treaty commissioner Angell found conditions and employment satisfactory in San Francisco, public opinion as evidenced in the Wasp cartoon demanded a radical solution to the "Chinese question."

would insult the dignity of the imperial government.²⁵

Upon his return home Seward wrote a book refuting the pro-exclusion arguments, contending that there was no basis for America's fears of a massive influx of Chinese, that the Chinese had been of great service on the West Coast, and that lawful remedies already existed for such problems as crime in Chinatowns. Seward's book, however, made him seem more liberal and enlightened than he actually was. Although he wrote, for example, that "all men under the sun are worthy in the measure of their intelligence and moral excellence, and not according to their grade in life or the hue of their skin,"²⁶ a few years earlier he had also written that "the darker races fall successively before the Caucasian" and that "in the long run the Chinese cannot prove the exception."²⁷ Seward's main consideration, then, was the promotion of foreign interests in China.²⁸

Seward left China maintaining that Washington did not understand or appreciate his efforts and that it was ignoring Peking's reaction to American discrimination against Chinese immigrants. Convinced that his diplomatic effort had been terminated for no good reason, Seward pronounced the following potshot valedictory on the role of being an American minister:

The field of labor is so distant and so obscure that effort cannot be expected to win for the given officer adequate compensation. . . . It may . . . bring him into collision with his own Government . . . and the given Government may unwittingly sacrifice its best interests, overruling and condemning its Minister to its own damage.²⁹

Secretary of State Evarts named James Burrill Angell as the new American minister plenipotentiary to China. He also designated Angell a treaty commissioner and assigned to him the task of amending the free immigration provisions of the Burlingame Treaty. Selecting Seward's replacement very carefully, Evarts believed

Seward's main consideration was the promotion of foreign interests in China.

that Angell, a midwesterner, would be more acceptable to the Chinese than a representative of either the West Coast exclusionists or the East Coast mercantilists. Angell was also an educator and the president of the University of Michigan, a background the secretary thought would appeal to the Chinese. Although Angell had no practical diplomatic experience, he knew a great deal about international law, or what President Hayes referred to as "proper methods." In addition, his personal qualities were ideally suited to his delicate assignment. The man who would ask the Chinese government to allow its subjects to be discriminated against by American immigration laws was a sensitive, intelligent, and urbane gentleman. Angell occasionally employed racial stereotypes in his speech, but his private as well as public writings were singularly lacking in racial aspersions, especially compared to those of Seward.³⁰

The cautious Angell did not immediately accept the post. He first sought assurance that the appointment as treaty commissioner would be only temporary because he wanted to return quickly to the university. He also expressed serious doubts about reversing America's traditional policy of welcoming immigrants. Angell feared, however, that Congress would eventually pass restrictive legislation despite the Burlingame Treaty and that such unilateral action might cause Chinese retaliation against American treaty rights in China. Some kind of treaty revision permitting congressional regulation was therefore necessary. He informed Evarts that he would accept the position, but only if his instructions did not require him to seek absolute prohibition of Chinese immigration.³¹



To assist Angell, the State Department appointed two other commissioners plenipotentiary to participate in the treaty negotiations. John F. Swift, who was a San Francisco assemblyman, advocated total exclusion of Chinese immigrants from the U.S.; William H. Trescot of South Carolina, on the other hand, viewed exclusion with professional caution reflecting his considerable diplomatic experience in the service of both the United States and Confederate States of America. All three commissioners were Republicans. Chester Holcombe, the secretary of the legation in Peking and interpreter to the treaty negotiations, later termed the composition of the commission a master political move for the party. The Democrats in Congress grumbled about how this move stole their thunder on the exclusion issue which they had long supported, but they did not dare oppose it.³²

In May, 1880, Secretary Evarts met several times with Angell and Trescot in Washington to discuss the mission. The secretary gave them no specific instructions—a fact which suggests that the commission was estab-

According to the 1880 treaty, merchants, tourists, and scholars were permitted to enter the U.S., but laborers such as this vegetable peddler in Los Angeles (far right) were subject to U.S. limitation and suspension.

lished to relieve exclusionist political pressure on the administration rather than to implement any considered policy. The three men agreed that the Chinese immigrants' lack of interest in assimilation created a social problem, but that the United States wanted to be "just and generous" to the Chinese government. Although the meetings dealt with a broad range of potential treaty questions, the three men reached no conclusions. In fact Angell and Trescot learned from Evarts only that the Burlingame Treaty must be revised, that the State Department had no specific changes in mind, that it was the commission's job to make some revisions, and that in doing so they must seek to please people on both sides of the Pacific.³³

Evarts' written instructions to Angell and his colleagues consisted only of a series of points to be considered during the negotiations with the Chinese. Nor did he provide them with any draft provisions. The secretary told the commissioners only to take into account sentiment on the Pacific coast, United States commercial relations with China, American traditions of liberal admission of foreigners, and the opposition of certain religious groups to exclusion. Evarts sent the commissioners copies of the Democratic and Republican party platform planks on Chinese immigration.³⁴

Enroute to Peking, Angell stopped for several days in San Francisco where he talked with Frederick F. Low, a former United States minister to China and former governor of California, and with several other local spokesmen. He also visited Chinatown and met the leaders of San Francisco's Chinese community. Angell determined that although most men in California favored some limitation of immigration because of the problem of non-assimilation, Californians thought that the Chinese should be well treated. The new minister also found neither deplorable conditions in Chinatown nor widespread white unemployment in California, and he concluded that most of the exclusion agitation had been politically motivated and created by the press. In

his opinion a few demagogues had exploited the white agricultural "tramps" who poured into San Francisco after the harvest to become "bummers and sand lot politicians."³⁵

The American commission arrived in Peking in August, 1880, and held its own caucus before making its initial proposals to the Chinese. Swift, the Californian, wanted a treaty which absolutely prohibited Chinese immigration into the United States. Angell and Trescot disagreed, arguing that the treaty should only give Congress the discretion to regulate immigration as it deemed necessary. Although Swift continued to advocate his position vigorously in this session and later meetings, the majority ruled. Trescot accordingly drafted a memorandum to the Chinese

asking that [the United States] shall be allowed to judge for itself to what extent the immigration of Chinese labor is useful and advantageous, and that whenever . . . it feels that its social or industrial interests require a limitation or prohibition of such immigration, it shall have the authority . . . to regulate it as is most consonant with those interests.³⁶

At the first negotiating session with the Chinese on October 1, the two Chinese treaty commissioners proposed to leave the Burlingame Treaty unchanged and to make Seward's proposals concerning the limiting of certain classes of people, such as paupers and prostitutes, the basis for discussion. Trescot countered that Seward's suggestion had been made without the authorization of his government and that the present commission had come specifically to revise the Burlingame Treaty. The Chinese cooperatively agreed to consider the issues and indicated that they thought a settlement feasible. Trescot thought that the Chinese were stalling. Angell and Swift, however, left the meeting thinking that the emperor's representatives would negotiate on a basis of limitation of immigration, but not prohibition. Although the Americans were prepared to waive prohibition, they decided to wait a while longer before revealing their hand.³⁷

Several days later the Chinese called a meeting and presented the Americans with a full projet or draft for a treaty. This draft applied immigration restrictions only to California, exempted "artisans" from the excluded class of "laborers," and proposed what amounted to an imperial veto over any regulations which Congress might adopt. The Americans expressed their objections to the articles, but the conference adjourned on a cordial note. After this meeting the Americans decided to play their trump and resubmit their own projet asking only for limitation, not prohibition.³⁸

The decisive treaty session occurred on November 5, 1880, slightly more than a month after the first official





LAW RULES HERE—DIPLOMACY AT WASHINGTON.

While the Chinese trusted the U.S. to exercise its treaty rights with discretion, the Wasp in 1886 caricatured Washington's reluctance to enact total exclusion as kowtowing "diplomacy."

meeting. With both projects before them, the Chinese and American commissioners turned to the first article which dealt with regulating immigration. The two drafts were at such variance that Swift and Trescot were ready to abandon the entire effort, but Angell believed that the Chinese were prepared to negotiate in earnest and counseled patience. "Let us leave this article," he suggested, "and take up the last. Let the fish chew the bait awhile." Turning to other provisions, the two sides quickly came to agreement on several minor points. Returning to the first article and "having now gotten into the mood of agreeing," the commissioners succeeded in "dovetailing" together the two drafts, and the work was done.³⁹

The commissioners agreed to the final wording of the treaty on November 8 and signed the document on November 17. Genuine bargaining had taken place between the American commissioners and their Chinese counterparts, and the rapidity of the settlement must have set a record for Sino-Western diplomatic dealings under conditions other than duress. A simultaneous border controversy with Russia may have prompted China to come to quick agreement, but more likely the Chinese simply were not concerned enough about emigration to quibble.⁴⁰

Article I of the Treaty of 1880 allowed the United States to "regulate, limit, or suspend" but "not absolutely prohibit" the immigration of Chinese laborers. The other three articles provided specifically for the entrance of Chinese students, merchants, and tourists into the United States; for protection of Chinese people already residing in America; and for communication to the Chinese government of any laws passed in accordance with the treaty.⁴¹

Angell, Swift, and Trescot believed that the Chinese only agreed to these terms because of their belief in America's friendship for their country. In their summary report to Washington, the three commissioners concluded that once the Chinese granted that the United

The ink was barely dry on the treaty's signatures when Congress began debate on seven different exclusion bills.

States should have discretionary power over immigration to the Western country, they assumed that America would "exercise that discretion with justice, and in a spirit of friendship." "We were fortunate enough," continued the commissioners, "to satisfy the Chinese commissioners not only of the justice of our views, but of the entire good faith in which they were advanced."⁴² The Chinese apparently trusted that future American restrictions and behavior would be reasonable, and Angell considered the immigration treaty a good solution of the "Chinese question," as it was called in the United States.

Angell's expectation that the United States would find hardly "any need of availing itself of the power conceded it," however, proved sadly inaccurate.⁴³ The ink was barely dry on the treaty's signatures when Congress began debate on seven different exclusion bills, and the goals of politics and diplomacy continued to be exactly opposite on the immigration question. Congress tended to view the Angell Treaty not as a mutual international accommodation on a sensitive issue but rather as a *carte blanche* for luring constituents' votes at the expense of Chinese immigrants. Congressional debate centered not on whether to suspend Chinese immigration but rather over how long the suspension should be. The negotiated treaty, purposefully vague, allowed the United States to close immigration for a "reasonable" period, but even the American treaty commissioners did not agree on the timetable. Angell contended that five years was a reasonable period, but Swift maintained that forty years was not excessive.⁴⁴

The first exclusion bill approved by Congress in 1882 under the aegis of the new treaty provided for a twenty-year suspension of immigration of Chinese laborers. It also created an elaborate system of regulations which would have effectively impeded the immigration of merchants, students, and other Chinese whom the treaty had specifically exempted from such restrictions. During the debate on this bill, which had been authored by Senator John F. Miller of California, Senator Joseph Hawley of Connecticut perceptively summarized the ironic history of Sino-Western relations: "We are asked to deny to the Chinaman the right [of immigration and residence which] he was bombarded into accepting" for foreigners in his own country.⁴⁵

President Chester A. Arthur vetoed this twenty-year suspension bill for much the same reason that President Hayes had vetoed the earlier fifteen-passenger-limit bill. The new president agreed with the purpose of the bill but thought that the twenty-year period and onerous regulations were unreasonable and hence indefensible under both the new Angell Treaty and accepted international practices. Unsuccessful at overriding the veto, Congress quickly passed a second bill establishing a ten-year exclusion period and modifying but not removing the provisions affecting the supposedly exempted classes of Chinese. Arthur thought that this substitute bill also went beyond the suspension period and regulations permitted by the Angell Treaty, but he yielded to political pressure for some type of exclusion and signed the law.⁴⁶

In the face of the United States' quick moves to restrict all Chinese immigration to America, the government of China was incapable of responding with anything more than formal remonstrances. Plagued by difficulties much more serious than the treatment of its emigrants in America, China faced increasing pressures from other countries for economic and territorial concessions as well as insurmountable internal problems ranging from pervasive poverty to political upheaval.

China's government, economy, and entire way of life were collapsing under the weight of these burdens, and the Chinese were thus unable to retaliate by restricting the rights of foreigners in China as Seward and Angell had once thought they might.

Washington's move to discriminate against Chinese immigrants in the 1870's and 1880's illustrated more than the way in which domestic political considerations could complicate the nation's diplomatic goals. Its decision to exclude immigrants revealed one of the most unsavory and unequal aspects of Western policy toward China in the nineteenth century: namely, the invocation of treaties and international law to give legitimacy to arbitrary actions against the weak Chinese government. Earlier in the century the Western nations had invaded China's centuries-old isolation, using international conventions and practices to justify their own penetration of Chinese society. The American Treaty of 1880, however, led to an ironic reapplication of diplomatic principles. Again using the sanctimonious shroud of a treaty, the United States in 1882 blocked the entry of the Chinese into American society.

The print reproduced on pages 32-33 is from Alfred B. Lubbock's The Opium Clippers (Boston, 1933); on page 36, from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, August 17, 1878. The photographs on pages 37, 40, and 41, are from the Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library; and the Wasp cartoons from February 27, 1886, and April 17, 1886, on pages 38 and 42 are from the CHS Library. The portrait of Seward on page 35 is courtesy The Bancroft Library.

Notes

1. Neil L. Shumsky, "San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," *California Historical Quarterly*, 55 (Spring, 1976): 46-51, and the accompanying pictorial history, "The Workingmen's Party in California, 1877-1882," 58-73. See also Roger Olmsted, "The Chinese Must Go!" *California Historical Quarterly*, 50 (Sept., 1971): 285-94.
2. Charles I. Bevans, ed., *Treaties and Other International Agreements*

- of the United States of America 1776-1949 (Washington, 1968-74), 6: 680-84.
3. *Treaties, Conventions, etc., Between China and Foreign States* (Shanghai, 1908), 1:29-46, 159-64, 212-29, 238-42, 509-23, 602-23, 673-78.
4. The statistics on Chinese immigration are approximate. See Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909), pp. 425, 501; Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill., 1939), p. 17.
5. Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 25-39; Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1971), pp. 258-65; Robert McClellan, *The Heathen Chinee* (Columbus, Ohio, 1971), pp. 1-6; Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922), pp. 535-40; Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1969), pp. 3-15, argues that anti-Chinese sentiments were not limited to California and the West Coast.
6. Gary Pennanen, "Public Opinion and the Chinese Question, 1876-1879," *Ohio History*, 77 (Winter, Spring, Summer, 1968): 141.
7. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 96-104, 132-33; John W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (Boston, 1903), pp. 283-93. For Sargent's report, see Senate, *Report No. 689*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess. For Morton's notes see Senate, *Miscellaneous Document No. 20*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess.
8. George F. Seward to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, March 22, 1876, Despatches from United States Ministers to China, National Archives (hereafter cited as China Despatches).
9. Seward to Fish, June 29, 1876, *ibid.*
10. Seward to Fish, March 13, 1878, *ibid.*; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 83-84, 114-16, 133-34; Pennanen, "Public Opinion," 141-43.
11. Seward to Evarts, March 22, 1878, China Despatches; House, *Report No. 240*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., 791-801, 1264-76, 1299-1316, 1383-1400, 1796-97; House, *Report No. 62*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess.
14. *New York Times*, February 24, 1879.
15. Pennanen, "Public Opinion," 143-45.
16. T. Harry Williams, ed., *Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1875-1881* (New York, 1964), pp. 187-88.
17. *Ibid.*, 189.
18. James D. Richardson, comp., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York, 1913), 6:4466-72.
19. Williams, *Hayes Diary*, 192. Emphasis added.
20. Evarts to Seward, April 23, 1879, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, China, National Archives (hereafter cited as China Instructions).
21. Seward to Evarts, July 21, 1879, China Despatches.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Seward to Evarts, Aug. 1, 1879, *ibid.*
24. Denny to Angell, Aug. 10, 1880, James B. Angell Papers, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan; "James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881" (hereafter cited as Angell Diary), 1:8, James B. Angell Papers, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan; House, *Report No. 134*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess.
25. Evarts to Seward, telegram, Dec. 27, 1879, China Instructions; Evarts to Seward, June 5, 1880, *ibid.*; Seward to Evarts, Jan. 26, 1880, China Despatches; Commission to Evarts, Oct. 11, 1880, *ibid.*
26. George F. Seward, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1881), p. 158.
27. Seward to Davis, July 18, 1874, Despatches from United States Consuls in Shanghai, National Archives.
28. *Ibid.*; Seward, *Chinese Immigration*, v-vi, 11-13.
29. Seward to Evarts, May 6, 1880, China Despatches.
30. Angell Diary, 1:3,59.
31. James Burrill Angell, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1912), p. 131; Shirley W. Smith, *James Burrill Angell: An American Influence* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1954), pp. 119-22; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 152.
32. Smith, *Angell*, 122-23; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 153.
33. Angell Diary, 1:7-11; Smith, *Angell*, 124-25; Brainerd Dyer, *The Public Career of William M. Evarts* (Berkeley, 1933), p. 222.
34. Evarts to Commission, June 7, 1880, China Instructions; Evarts to Commission, July 23, 1880, *ibid.*
35. Angell Diary, 1:17-18.
36. Memorandum enclosed in Commission to Evarts, Oct. 11, 1880, China Despatches; Angell Diary, 1:59-60.
37. Commission to Evarts, Oct. 23, 1880, China Despatches; Angell Diary, 1:66-67.
38. Commission to Evarts, Nov. 3, 1880, China Despatches; Angell Diary, 1:70-72.
39. Angell Diary, 1:72-75; Angell, *Reminiscences*, 143-45; Commission to Evarts, Nov. 6, 1880, China Despatches.
40. Angell to his son (Alexis Angell), Aug. 14, 1880, and Nov. 21, 1880, James B. Angell Papers.
41. Bevans, *Treaties*, 6:68-87.
42. Commission to Evarts, Nov. 17, 1880, China Despatches.
43. Angell Diary, 1:80.
44. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 164-69.
45. *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., 1 Sess., 1739.
46. Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur* (New York, 1975), pp. 278-79; Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 169-78; Senate, *Executive Document No. 148*, 47 Cong., 1 Sess.

NORTH FROM PANAMA,



WEST TO THE ORIENT

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company

as photographed by
Carleton E. Watkins

East from the Second Street hills in 1871, the Pacific Mail Company's ten-acre waterfront empire sprawls untidily across the San Francisco landscape. Flanked by the Marine Hospital in the distance and St. Mary's Hospital at the left, the free-standing remnant of the city's hills in the foreground foreshadows further expansion yet to come. The photographer's portable studio in the lower left corner—a horse and wagon carrying eighty pounds of essential equipment—advertises with characteristic San Francisco modesty: "C. E. Watkins, Landscape Photographer, Views to Order in any part of the State or Coast."

After the close of the Mexican War in 1848, the United States took control of a vast expanse of land south of the Oregon Territory. The acquisition gained under the banner of Manifest Destiny proved as much a headache as a blessing, however, for transportation to and communication with the infant settlements of Americans in California and Oregon were urgently required.

Binding the newly acquired areas to the Union posed a difficult task. Three thousand wilderness miles separated the Atlantic seaboard from the Pacific, and it took at least three months by sail around Cape Horn to reach the new American west coast. Travel was risky, undependable, and too time-consuming for the needs of government and business. It was not a problem that the government could long ignore.

The American Congress acted with rare dispatch, authorizing for a second time in 1847 the Secretary of the Navy to contract for ocean mail service to the Pacific coast. He awarded the contract to Tennessee politician Arnold Harris, who three days later reassigned it—for a handsome profit—to William Henry Aspinwall, a wealthy and influential New York merchant. Accordingly, Aspinwall and his associates secured a

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John H. Kemble's published work on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869*, remains the definitive source for anyone who follows in his footsteps. Liberal use has been made in this article of his thoughts and certain of his precise modes of expression. Grateful acknowledgment is made for his excellent scholarship, without which this essay would not have been possible.

charter in 1848 from the New York legislature to incorporate as the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. The seemingly inauspicious event marked the beginning of the company's thirty-year domination first of the Pacific coastwise trade and then of the rich Orient trade which had tantalized men's imaginations for centuries.

Aspinwall and his fellow Yankee merchants set out to pioneer a route along the Pacific coast from Panama to the Columbia River and Puget Sound, with stops at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. Other steamship operators would be allowed to bring passengers and freight to the Pacific Mail steamers at Panama; the Pacific Mail Steamship Company alone would carry them northward along the Pacific coast. A no-nonsense monopoly was their goal.

Required by the Navy Department to build steamers that could safely carry passengers, freight, and mail—and be easily converted to naval auxiliaries in time of war—the partners wasted no time. They ordered the laying down of three wooden sidewheel steamers even before their fledgling company was incorporated. The *California*, *Panama*, and *Oregon*, completed by the fall of 1848, were 200 feet long, 34 feet beam, and 20 feet deep. Weighing just over 1000 tons gross, they were powered with single, side-lever engines supplied with steam by two coal-fed boilers. They could carry 50 or 60 passengers cramped into tiny cabins and 150 to 200 additional steerage passengers in bearable discomfort. In case of distress at sea, they carried generous amounts of canvas and wooden spars.

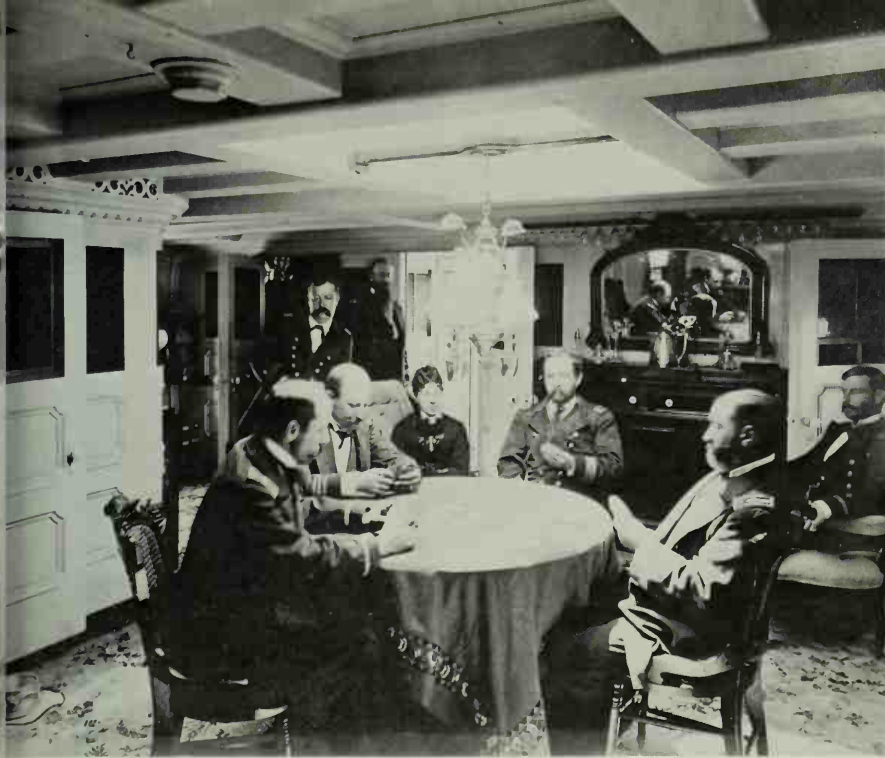
When President Polk announced on December 5, 1848, the electrifying discovery of gold in California, the demand for space aboard the Pacific Mail's tiny steamers soared wildly. Gold seekers at Panama who desperately wished to travel north assaulted company ticket-takers, and the wharves became the scene of angry riots. Almost anything that floated was hastily pressed into service on the Pacific coast route in the mad frenzy to reach the gold fields.

The first steamship to leave Panama for the promised land was the little *California*, which staggered to sea badly overloaded. Built to carry a maximum of 250 passengers, she departed with 365 neophyte miners, merchants, officials, and assorted adventurers crowding her decks. Nearing Point Concepción on the California coast, she ran out of coal, and her wooden spars, bunks, transoms, and cabin ornaments were fed to her hungry boilers. Happily someone discovered a hundred sacks of coal stowed as ballast, and the helpless steamer finally reached Monterey Bay. The crew and selected male passengers willing to work for \$5 a day cut enough wood at Monterey to bring the ship into the Bay of San Francisco on February 28, 1849.

Within a week of her arrival at San Francisco, the *California's* entire crew departed for the mines, leaving on board only an engine-room boy and the ship's master. On her return trip southward, the *California*, bunkered with coal from an English collier dispatched to San Francisco by the concerned Pacific Mail owners, ran out of fuel again and had to burn her spars, berths, bulkheads, and boats in order to reach Taboga Island, her Panama station.

Pacific Mail ships continued to be crowded, particularly those headed as far north as the gold fields. Bound home on the southward passage were those lucky few who had found their gold and kept it together, with a large number of the disappointed, the sick, and the unlucky.

Additional steamers—the *Tennessee*, *Unicorn*, *Columbia*, and the well-known *Golden Gate*—were added to the fleet as demands for service mounted. Soon joining them were the *Colorado*, *Constitution*, *Golden City*, *Sacramento*, *Winfield Scott*, *Sonora*, *John L. Stephens*, and *Golden Age*. Regular service was instituted on July 15, 1850, and these scheduled sailings, termed "Steamer Days," became minor civic galas generating great interest and enthusiasm. The speedy *Golden Gate* set the record for the California passage from Panama to San



First-class passengers enjoyed sumptuous surroundings which compared favorably with drawing rooms ashore.

San Francisco by arriving at the Bay in 11 days, 4½ hours.

When American engineers finally completed the railroad spanning the Isthmus of Panama in January, 1855, the agonies of the early transit on foot and muleback were mercifully ended. Freight and passengers, however, now descended in droves on Pacific Mail's embarkation wharves and completely overwhelmed the company's transport capacity. Competition for this new business increased ferociously. Rate-cutting wars on coastal runs flared, and Pacific Mail countered its opposition with tactics best understood by monopolists: reducing rates, buying out competitors, and compromising to gain future strength.

In time each of Pacific Mail's competitors sold their vessels to the company, which promptly added them to its own large fleet. The able and ruthless Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt finally agreed to confine his activities to the Atlantic, and on February 17, 1860, the company took over his Pacific coast steamers—the *Cortes*, *Orizaba*, *Sierra Nevada*, and *Uncle Sam*—for its own coastwise service.

As the Civil War drew to its close in 1865, Yankee entrepreneurs again turned to the idea of the Pacific Ocean as a trade highway to the Orient. California mer-

chants clamored for steamship service to the East, and once more Congress acted quickly, obliging Californian constituents on February 18, 1865, with an act creating an Asiatic service. Offering a \$500,000 subsidy for the operation of a transpacific steamship line, Congress awarded the contract to the sole bidder, the Pacific Mail Company.

In 1867 Pacific Mail opened its transpacific line from their home port, San Francisco, with four wooden paddlewheel steamers, the *America*, *China*, *Japan*, and *Great Republic*. The largest of their type and constructed to order in East Coast shipyards, each measured approximately 4000 tons gross and was just over 360 feet in length, 47 to 49 feet beam, and about 23 feet deep. Each wooden giant cost over \$100,000.

The decision to build the steamers of wood instead of iron proved fateful for Pacific Mail. Although these luxurious giants provided effective transpacific service and enjoyed great popularity with passengers, they were costly to operate and outmoded from the day their builders laid down their keels. Iron ships and screw propellers had already replaced wooden sidewheelers in many trades, and iron steamers would quickly enough replace these already obsolete Pacific Mail sidewheelers

White workingmen blamed Pacific Mail and its Canadian counterpart for carrying Chinese laborers to America who, according to this Wasp cartoon, threatened to inundate San Francisco and its native businesses with cheap labor.



as well. In 1872 Congress presented a new contract for bi-monthly service and increased the former half-million dollars subsidy to a million dollars. The new contract, however, required the use of iron, screw-propelled steamers. The largest commercial steamers ever built, the largest ocean steamers to be driven by paddle wheels, would soon sail no more.

Wooden steamers would long be remembered as giants of the sea, for each carried 250 passengers in its cabins and 1200 souls in its steerage accommodations. Even though each steamer stowed 1500 tons of coal in its commodious bunkers, additional coal needed to be taken on at Yokohama to complete the passage to Hong Kong. Each vessel, rigged as a three-mast bark, carried generous supplies of canvas, sails, and spars in the event of distress at sea.

Cabin passengers enjoyed a luxurious life aboard one of these vessels. The main deck offered a covered dining room and social hall 120 feet long, with twenty-six double staterooms and two bridal rooms opening off the center hall. Each stateroom measured 8-by-10

feet and had two doors, one opening into the covered social hall and the other onto the main deck outside. Sumptuous furnishings foreshadowed the luxury of ocean travel fifty years later. Fine woods, rich fabrics, and ornamental gilt were lavishly used in decoration, and staterooms compared favorably with well-to-do drawing rooms ashore.

On board, cabin passengers received the tenderest of care, while first-class passengers were pampered with attention. They both enjoyed customs inspections aboard the ship and were always landed first from an after gangway. Frequent letters in newspapers attested to the satisfaction transpacific travelers enjoyed aboard Pacific Mail's steamers.

Nor were steerage passengers overlooked. Their accommodations in 1867 on the transpacific run were almost comparable to those provided first-class cabin passengers on the pioneer steamers of 1849.

The Chinese crews which manned the vessels were universally praised, particularly for their courtesy, cleanliness, efficiency, and quiet manner. In an effort to

reduce operating costs in 1867, the company replaced most white seamen and black stewards on transpacific steamers with Chinese crews. Important savings in wages and in food costs resulted immediately. The Chinese proved good seamen, clearly more satisfactory than most white sailors available in Pacific ports.

While the shift to Chinese crews proved prudent for Pacific Mail, not everyone was pleased by its new hiring practices. Between 1873 and 1875, 260,000 people arrived in California, many of them factory hands from the East looking for employment. But jobs were already scarce in California, and as a flood of ready-made products penetrated the West after the opening of the transcontinental railroad, the outlook for unemployed workmen became especially bleak.

The presence of many thousands of Chinese workmen released from their jobs after the completion of the transcontinental railroad did not improve the employment situation. Their arrival in California cities only stretched battle lines already being drawn taut, and worsening economic conditions made tinderboxes of West Coast cities which needed only a spark to explode.

Unemployed white workers in 1877 believed that the underpaid and overworked Chinese workmen were their enemies. Frequently, the strong and capable Chinese were willing to take low-paying jobs which most white workers were too stiff-necked to accept. Frustrated white workmen soon were led to believe that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which seemingly brought in Asiatic competition by the boatload, was their enemy as well.

Spurred into violence, one night they attempted to burn down the newly-constructed Pacific Mail wharves and offices shown in Carleton Watkins' photographs. Throughout 1877 infuriated workmen repeatedly demonstrated in protest against the transport of Chinese into California aboard company ships and attempted ineffectually to delay the sailing of its steamers.

For the Pacific Mail Company, the large numbers of

Chinese they carried to the Orient and back proved to be a very profitable business. Although the price of a single passage was slight, fares comprised a significant part of the company's income because of the steady increase of Chinese making passages. In 1865 the cost of steerage accommodations from San Francisco to Hong Kong was \$55.50. As the volume of eastbound passengers increased, the price was gradually lowered until it stabilized at \$40.00 in gold.

Chinese passengers almost always traveled in the steerage. This meant that they occupied space in the berth deck plus a few parts of the forward main deck. They slept in simple berths consisting of canvas stretched over wooden frames. They prepared their own food in special galleys, and some wealthy Chinese preferred to travel in steerage because the food was more to their liking.

Because the albeit profitable Orient trade was not overly lucrative, Pacific Mail experienced little competition on its transpacific run. (It would come some twenty years later from a resurgent Japan.) On the whole the company enjoyed good fortune, and while its vulnerable steamers had their share of normal misfortunes, they were not considered unlucky ships. The stress of North Pacific voyaging was predictably severe, and accidents were to be expected. But punishing as the wind and sea could be, they could not compare with the most dreaded danger, fire.

Fire struck the company's great wooden sidewheelers but a few times, each with savage consequences. In 1872 the wooden steamer *America* was lost while lying to the Pacific Mail buoy in the harbor at Yokohama. A fire starting in several bales of hay stowed aft in the steerage quarters spread rapidly, mounted in consuming fury, and finally forced abandonment of the stricken steamer. Fifty-three of the fifty-nine lives lost were Chinese passengers. Lacking direction from the ship's officers and crew, many terrified Chinese jumped overboard with their possessions and drowned. Others

floating in the water near the ship were struck by thrown or falling objects. Although little use was made of the ample number of lifeboats, the captain and crew were officially praised for their heroism.

The second Pacific Mail tragedy, the loss of the *Japan* near Hong Kong in December, 1874, proved even more harrowing. Just before midnight in rough seas, fire was discovered in the forward coal bunker. In confusion heightened by rough seas, wind, and darkness, the ship was quickly abandoned. Of the 429 passengers aboard, 391 Chinese and 1 of the 4 European passengers lost their lives. In addition 23 officers and crew were lost. Because most Chinese passengers were berthed forward and the lifeboats were located aft, the fury of the fire between them made launching the wooden steamer's lifeboats nearly impossible.

The appearance of Pacific Mail's first iron, screw-propelled steamship in 1874 signalled the demise of her wooden sisterships. One by one they were lost or dropped from use in the transpacific trade, the last of the old paddlewheelers, *China*, letting go her lines and setting out on her final passage in June of 1879.

The never-to-be-forgotten sidewheelers had initiated and developed steamship service on the Pacific from San Francisco to Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong for thirteen years. They had successfully carried passengers, freight, and treasure, usually silver bars of Mexican dollars. They had created an avenue of Chinese immigration that enriched this country, and they had carried the founders of many Chinese communities to the United States. For the first eight years they were the only vessels on the pioneer transpacific route—as they had been on the coastwise service in 1849.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company was a proud corporate giant, its successes in transpacific and coastwise steamship service widely known and esteemed. Its

friendship was solicited openly, and wise men avoided its hostility. Its every maneuver was reported at length in the daily press and discussed in private circles with interest. San Francisco was its headquarters and its home port. When growing business required expansion of its facilities, the company built new wharves, larger depots and warehouses, and a modern coaling yard with portable coal hoppers for its ships.

All of these facilities were constructed on ten waterfront acres in downtown San Francisco, between Townsend, Japan, and Brannan streets. Deservedly, the construction was duly reported in the press amid paeans of civic pride. Praise flowed like free wine at a picnic. It was then inevitable that the proud directors of the company would require photographs of their latest additions, an established custom among San Francisco's elite. Photographers to do the job properly were close at hand, but only the town's acknowledged best was good enough for Pacific Mail.

The photographer selected by the company to execute this flourish of self-praise was an admired forty-three-year-old transplanted easterner, Carleton E. Watkins, a self-styled landscape artist. By 1872 Watkins, proprietor of the Yosemite Art Gallery on fashionable Montgomery Street, was accepted as a leader of San Francisco's professional photographic community. He was a boyhood chum of the powerful railroad magnate Collis Huntington and an intimate of Clarence King's intellectual circle. King spoke of Watkins as the finest photographer he knew.

Watkins was an outdoor photographer who did not make portraits or still lifes inside a studio, but spent his time ranging up and down the entire Pacific Coast and in the Southwest, photographing the landscape and other out-of-doors subjects. He was the agreed-upon leader in this field, for he possessed uncommon command of his craft and a photographic vision keenly sensitive to natural beauty. He routinely produced needle-sharp negatives on sheets of polished glass as



The arrival of a Pacific Mail steamer from the Orient was an event felt throughout the city. Crowds of people and vehicles assembled at the wharf, including Chinese merchants who were consignees of the cargo.

large as sixteen-by-twenty inches and in some cases as immense as twenty-by-twenty-four inches.

The original prints made for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in 1871 are splendid examples of Watkins' particular talent for making sharply focused twenty-by-twenty-four inch negatives bursting with detail. The large originals commanded a presence that is regrettably missed in smaller reproductions.

Because Watkins was almost always in the field shooting new views, he turned over the making of paper prints from his negatives—as did many of his colleagues—to professional print-making establishments. Prints were produced by exposing the negative and the printing-out paper to the sun's natural light, a process requiring little technical expertise and permitting no artistic manipulation, and many photographers were content to have it done for them. For a view photog-

rapher regularly away from his studio, such assistance was often a necessity.

Because the photographs shown here were commissioned in advance, their sale presented little problem to Watkins. Most of his large prints were mounted on over-sized, india-colored boards frequently imprinted in advance with the customer's name, a description of the photograph, and the photographer's name and address.

Both the buildings pictured and the original negatives from which the prints were made are gone forever, and these surviving images offer our only opportunity to see the headquarters complex of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in 1871. The prints are equally a testament to the splendor of the country's first trans-pacific steamship line and to the vision and skill of California's gifted photographer, Carleton E. Watkins.

Watkin's Pacific Mail Portfolio



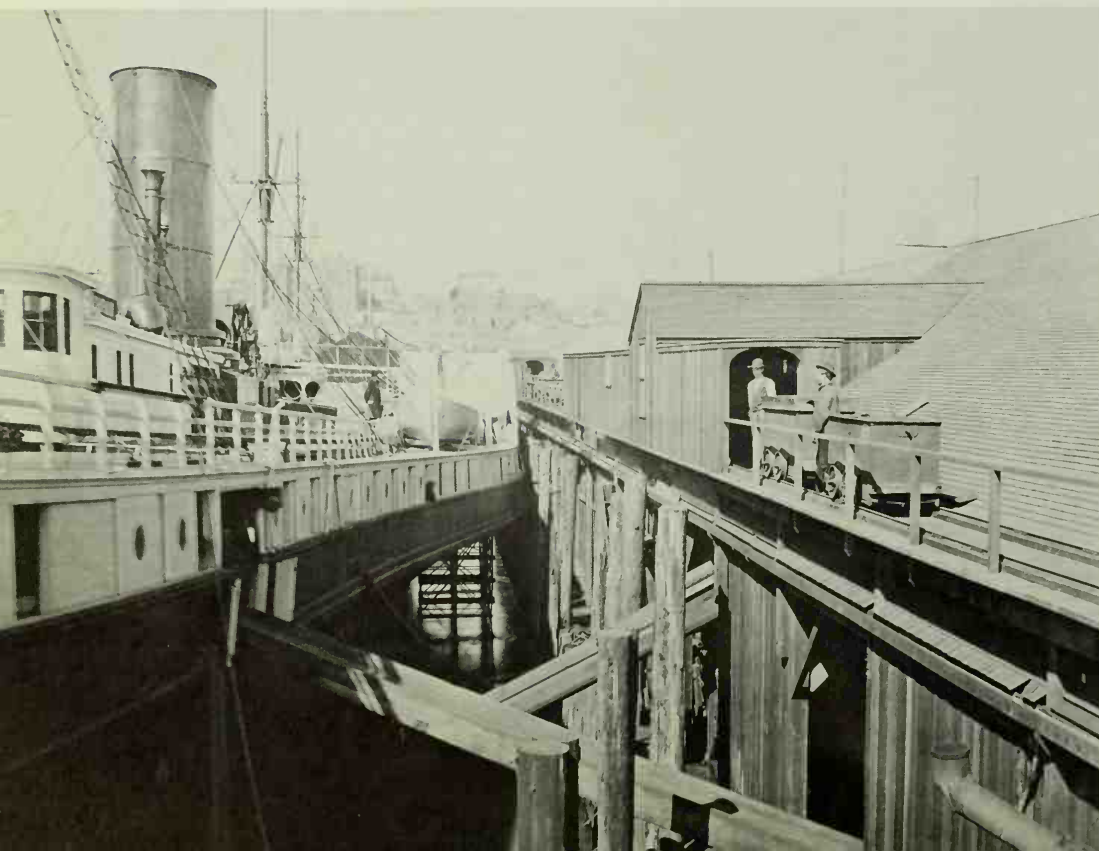
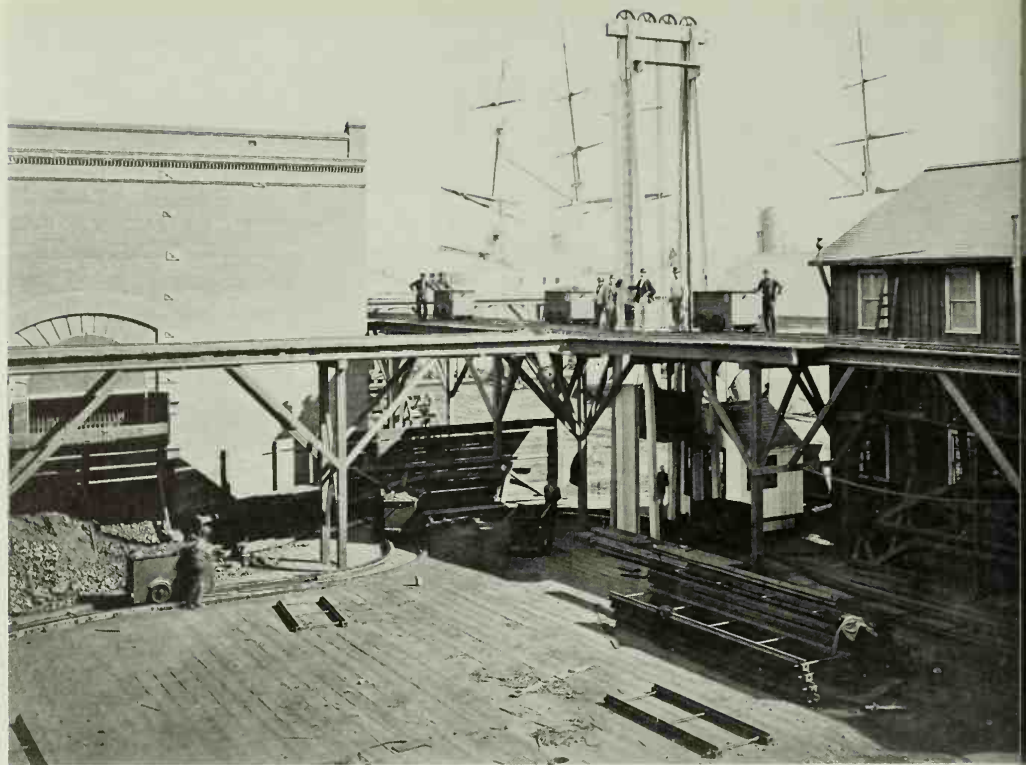
Shrouded in early morning mist, four of Pacific Mail's pioneer sidewheel steamers tug on their lines at the Panama slip. The first steamship to sail north from Panama for Pacific Mail, the tiny California at right, still bears on her paddlewheel box the letters USM for United States Mail. To her left, almost obscured, lies another ancient voyager, the well-known paddler Senator. Resting in 1871 with two unidentified consorts, they mark the near obsolescence of coastwise service. The transcontinental railroad had made good its promise of besting the time required for the sea journey and dramatically reducing the cost of the trip.



Traveling San Franciscans knew the Pacific Mail Company departure sheds (at left) at the foot of First and Brannan streets as the doorway to either "East"—New York or the Orient. The tranquility of the warehouses, coal yards, and old wooden structures on the day of this photograph does not suggest the excitement of sailing days—the entrance to the docks clogged with drays, shouting porters, wide-eyed passengers, and screaming gulls.

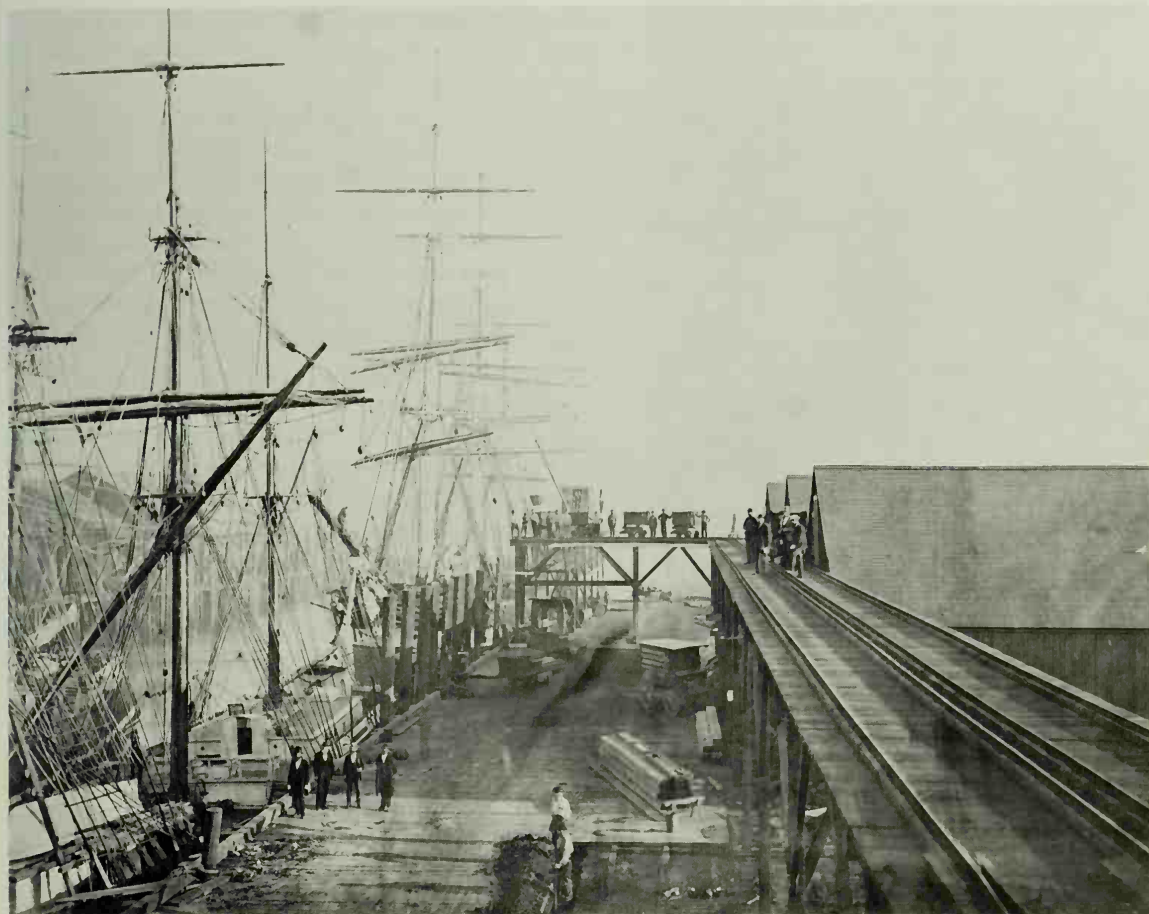


Lying tied up at Pacific Mail's Panama docks are the oldtimers, the sidewheeler Senator at the right and behind her, in the center of the picture, the larger and more powerful Colorado, a trusted workhorse. At the far left looms Billy Starr's old brick Occidental Warehouse, taken over and renamed by its new owners the Oriental Bonded Warehouse. Spare engine parts lie at the lower right, while the company's machine shops are housed at center in the unpainted wooden sheds. Yerba Buena island looms in isolated loneliness in the background.



The coaling operation was not, as it dared not be, a haphazard affair. The powerful chain hoist shown here lifted or lowered the sheet-metal hopper cars from the lower tracks to the upper. Guided along the curving tracks by two workmen, the loaded cars and the clattering empties added to the daily din. Workmen stop at attention for their photograph, while the white-trousered company official stands near the hoist where he believes he should be, the center of the picture.

Loading for a transpacific crossing, the Japan, one of the four wooden sidewheelers (below left) especially built for the Orient trade, makes ready for sea. At right are tracks, hopper cars, chutes, and workmen who load coal into the steamers' bunkers. The outboard sweep of the sponsons, the great wooden paddlewheel guards, gleams white behind the lifeboat at center. The huge paddlewheels and iron supports stand silent, visible in the shimmering water.



Without coal to fire their boilers, Pacific Mail's steamers were virtually helpless, and supplies of "black diamonds" arrived regularly at the company's great coal yard. Foreign sailing vessels unload in this photograph, the nearest low in the water with her cargo and astern of her an old-time collier of classic build. A third collier at the far left awaits her turn to unload—and completes an everyday scene at the Pacific Mail docks. The elevated tracks, coal cars, and steam-powered crane on wheels are essential to the coaling operation. Here again photographer Carleton Watkins has driven his portable studio directly into the scene. At his command for immobility, company officials on the wharf and company workmen on the elevated tracks freeze into position.



Hardy, skillful, and resourceful, Chinese sailors formed America's invisible merchant marine.

Historians and maritime enthusiasts have occasionally acknowledged the presence of Chinese sailors in America's maritime service. When recognition has been given, however, it has always been either restrained, in the belief that the Chinese involvement was insignificant, or given from a biased point of view, which denies the possibility of any objective and reliable study of the Chinese presence.¹ In the course of research into literary and social aspects of the maritime history of the West Coast, this investigator became increasingly aware of the contributions made by Chinese in the maritime service and that those contributions reached substantial proportions between the years 1876 and 1906. Ultimately, it became apparent that the Chinese experience is a significant and, as yet, unwritten chapter in the maritime history of the United States.

Knowledge about the Chinese who served American commerce before 1915 is difficult to obtain, and records concerning their numbers, the positions they served on board vessels, and their living conditions are few, scattered, or non-existent. The virtual disappearance of Chinese from American shipping after 1915 and the controversial nature of hiring them during the Chinese exclusion period produced further obstacles to obtaining accurate information.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, considerable attention was given the "problem" of Chinese sailors by federal and state governments and especially

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The author expresses appreciation for the kind aid given him in preparing this article by the University of Liverpool Archive Center, the Maritime Group of St. John's University—Newfoundland, the Huntington Library, the Bancroft Library, and especially for the patience and support received over many months from Robyn Gottfried and Dan Nealand of the San Bruno Regional Branch of the National Archives and Records Service.

by organized labor. In 1882, for example, the Representative Assembly of Trades and Labor Unions on the Pacific Coast, meeting to urge passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, issued a report listing the number of Chinese laborers who were engaged in various occupations in San Francisco, including maritime service. The report read:

The steamers of the Occidental & Oriental Steamship Company and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company carry Chinese firemen, cooks, waiters, and servants for the officers.

United States Government vessels on the Pacific stations likewise carry Chinese cooks and servants for the officers.

On the authority of the United States Shipping Commissioner of San Francisco, the number of Chinese employed on vessels of this port coming under his official supervision is 350. In addition to these, there are many in the coasting trade as cooks and stewards.²

The Trades Assembly report is the earliest known statement about the numbers of Chinese in the maritime service, and in light of the year it was issued, it becomes critical to any subsequent investigation into the Chinese involvement. The report was given credence as late as 1971, for example, by a scholarly investigation of union activity in California. The figure it quotes, 350, is misleading, however, and falls far short of the actual numbers of Chinese who were working for the transpacific and coastwise steamship lines. It is also an inaccurate statement in that it helped to perpetuate the belief, both desired and based upon ignorance, that the Chinese who were directly engaged in American commerce were firemen, cooks, waiters, and servants only.³

Six years later a *San Francisco Examiner* reporter speculated that some 700 Chinese were employed on China steamers alone, and the *Alta California* claimed in the same year that the number was more likely 1,280.⁴ In 1901, the report of the Chinese Exclusion Convention of California carried a statement signed by three representatives of the Pacific coast maritime unions that "all steam vessels regularly engaged in trade between San Francisco and Asiatic ports employ Chinese

CHINESE SAILORS

America's invisible merchant marine 1876-1905

and Japanese exclusively in the deck, engineers' and stewards' departments." The report specified that Chinese served the vessels operated by Pacific Mail and Occidental and Oriental, while Japanese served the Toyo Kasen Kaisha Line.⁵ There was no reference to numbers of men and vessels.

The United States Senate Committee on Immigration held Chinese exclusion hearings in 1902, and Andrew Furuseth, secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and president of the International Seamen's Union, spoke as a member representing trade unions in California. In response to the question, "How many Chinese are engaged in this (transpacific) service?" Furuseth replied, "The exact number I could not give." He did state, however, that the steamships of Pacific Mail and "another company [probably the Northern Pacific Steamship Company operating out of Washington state] carry all Chinese." He explained that the steamships were regularly manned by 100 to 200 men each, of which "about 15 men" were "white" citizens of the United States. He failed to state the number of steamships serving both lines, nor did he mention the names of other lines. The declarations given by the Trades Assembly, shipping commissioner, newspaper reporters, union representatives in 1901, and Furuseth—all supposedly knowledgeable individuals and groups—illustrate how difficult it has been to document reliable information about the Chinese who worked on board vessels in American commerce.

A reasonable approach to investigating the problem of the number of Chinese crewmen is to consider the companies that dominated the transpacific trade and the vessels employed on the runs. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company, chartered in 1848, made its first transpacific run in 1867 with the aid of its first annual congressional subsidy of \$500,000. The Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, with whom Pacific Mail shared its San Francisco docks and facilities, was incorporated in California in 1874 and chartered its fleet of

steamships from the company popularly known as the White Star Line. Its vessels flew the British flag until it shut down operations in 1908. Chinese were employed as crew members on all the vessels operating in this transpacific service.⁷

Both companies' steamships were large, ranging in weight from 2,600 to 5,000 tons gross, and utilized steam and sail for motive power. Operation of each vessel's engine room, cabins, steerage, saloons, and four masts, which were either ship- or bark-rigged, required sizeable crews that ranged from 70 to 175 members. After 1900, larger steamships weighing over 11,000 tons gross weight, such as the *Korea*, *Siberia*, *Manchuria*, and *Mongolia*, were added to the fleets (see Chart A for complete list of steamships considered in this study).

During the years 1875-1882, the two companies cooperated officially to provide "monthly transpacific service to San Francisco, with alternate sailings every fifteen days," or twenty-four round voyages a year.⁸ An examination of the records kept by the Port Collector of San Francisco, however, shows that the yearly number of sailings was usually higher, probably because of fluctuations in trade and the number of steamships used in any one year. In 1877, for example, combined voyages totaled thirty-seven, and by 1882 they increased to forty-five (see Chart B for count of voyages in 1882). From 1883 to 1906, the companies agreed to increase sailings to three times a month, or thirty-six a year. Port records, however, show that the two companies averaged thirty-two voyages for each year in the twenty-four year period (see Chart C for voyages in 1888). The number of transpacific round voyages from 1876 to 1906 totalled 929 (see Chart A for count of voyages).

The most complicating factor in any attempt to document reliable information about the number of Chinese crewmen employed by both companies was the nature of their recruitment. They were hired in Hong Kong for each round-trip voyage to San Fran-

CHART A—1876-1906

Steamship ¹	Years	Total Crew Range	Average Chinese Crew	Total Round Voyages	Total Chinese Crew
<i>Alaska</i> —PM	1876-82	107-120	82	× 19 =	1558
<i>Arabic</i> —O&O	1882-89	120-132	80	× 20 =	1600
<i>Belgic</i> (I)—O&O	1876-91	78-99	60	× 66 =	3960
<i>Belgic</i> (II)—O&O	1892-98	109-120	85	× 27 =	2295
<i>China</i> (I)—PM	1877-80	103-120	55	× 11 =	605
<i>China</i> (II)—PM	1889-1906	125-175	117	× 66 =	7722
<i>City of New York</i> —PM	1876-82	97-105	57	× 24 =	1368
<i>City of Peking</i> —PM	1876-1903	117-133	85	× 113 =	9605
<i>City of Rio De Janeiro</i> —PM	1882-1901	110-120	85	× 87 =	7395
<i>City of San Francisco</i> —PM	1876-77	103-115	57	× 7 =	399
<i>City of Sidney</i> —PM	1876-82	100-112	60	× 24 =	1440
<i>City of Tokio</i> —PM	1876-85	100-137	65	× 36 =	2340
<i>Colima</i> —PM (Honolulu)	1876-82	88-100	52	× 40 =	2080
<i>Colorado</i> —PM	1876	109	77	× 1 =	77
<i>Constitution</i> —PM (Panama)	1876-77	70-98	29	× 4 =	116
<i>Coptic</i> —O&O	1895-1906	120-132	80	× 52 =	4160
<i>Doric</i> —O&O	1895-1906	116-132	94	× 52 =	4888
<i>Gaelic</i> (I)—O&O	1876-83	84-95	64	× 26 =	1664
<i>Gaelic</i> (II)—O&O	1886-1906	107-130	87	× 91 =	7917
<i>Granada</i> —PM (Panama)	1876-82	85-95	47	× 42 =	1974
<i>Great Republic</i> —PM	1876	112-121	84	× 4 =	336
<i>Korea</i> —PM	1902-03	270-292	181	× 19 =	3439
<i>Manchuria</i> —PM	1904-06	262-274	207	× 4 =	828
<i>Mongolia</i> —PM	1905-1906	263-270	155	× 6 =	930
<i>Oceanic</i> —O&O	1876-95	114-135	74	× 85 =	6290
<i>Peru</i> —PM	1892-1902	107-130	80	× 38 =	3040
<i>Siberia</i> —PM	1903	280-306	227	× 11 =	2497

TOTAL: 975 80,523

(Transpacific voyages only: 929)

(Transpacific average crew members only: 78,433)

CHART B—1882

Steamship	Round Voyages	Average Chinese Crew	Total Chinese Crew
<i>Arabic</i>	3	× 80 =	240
<i>City of Rio De Janeiro</i>	6	× 85 =	510
<i>City of Tokio</i>	4	× 65 =	260
<i>Colima</i>	5	× 52 =	260
<i>Granada</i>	6	× 47 =	282
<i>City of New York</i>	3	× 57 =	171
<i>City of Peking</i>	4	× 85 =	340
<i>City of Sidney</i>	3	× 60 =	180
<i>Belgic</i> (I)	5	× 60 =	300
<i>Coptic</i>	3	× 80 =	240
<i>Gaelic</i>	5	× 64 =	320
<i>Oceanic</i>	4	× 74 =	296
Total:	51	813	3,399
(Transpacific only:	45)		

To determine the numbers of Chinese seamen in 1882, for example, observe that on any single day, 813 Chinese served the twelve steamships operated by both companies. During the same year, 51 round voyages were completed, thereby producing 3,399 positions for Chinese seamen. Thus, there were 813 at a minimum and 3,399 at a maximum for the year.

CHART C—1888

Steamship	Round Voyages	Average Chinese Crew	Total Chinese Crew
<i>Arabic</i>	2	× 80 =	160
<i>City of Rio De Janeiro</i>	5	× 65 =	325
<i>Colima</i>	3	× 52 =	156
<i>City of New York</i>	4	× 57 =	228
<i>City of Peking</i>	4	× 85 =	340
<i>City of Sidney</i>	4	× 60 =	240
<i>Belgic</i>	4	× 64 =	256
<i>Gaelic</i>	4	× 87 =	348
<i>Oceanic</i>	5	× 74 =	370
Total:	35	624	2,423

Sources: Operating years for the steamships are taken from the books of Port Collector of San Francisco, *Record of Entrances and Clearances for 1876-1914*. Crew sizes are determined directly from available crews' lists and from seamen's pay accounts. On a particular voyage where a Chinese crew list is not available, the number of Chinese crewmen is determined by subtracting the number of Caucasian crewmen listed from the total number of crew members (including officers) as entered in the Port Collector's records.

1. PM = Pacific Mail Steamship Co.; O&O = Occidental & Oriental Steamship Co.

cisco and return, then discharged at the end of the completed voyage. A few additional members were hired in San Francisco. The crew list from each of Pacific Mail's ships was therefore drawn up in Hong Kong, and one copy was kept in the files of the American consul-general. The second and only other copy was surrendered by the ship's captain to the Collector of Customs at the Port of San Francisco on arrival and remained in possession of customs (under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Treasury). This procedure left the copy at San Francisco the only practical one for informational purposes. Its availability was totally at the disposition of the collector's office, and if it had been misplaced or lost, attempts to secure the remaining copy at Hong Kong would have proven difficult, time-consuming, and conceivably impossible.⁹

The crew lists of the Occidental and Oriental ships were drawn up in Hong Kong under the jurisdiction of the British Colonial Office. It is reasonable to assume that these lists would not have been accessible to an American investigator during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Eventually all lists became archival material, Pacific Mail's ending up at the United States National Archives and Records Service, and Occidental and Oriental's at the Registrar General of Seamen and Shipping, Cardiff, Wales. From the over 900 round-voyages that took place throughout the thirty-year period under study, the only documents with Chinese names preserved for examination are six crews' lists from 1883-1904 and seamen's pay accounts for the years 1875-1877. Many crew lists with Caucasian names do exist, however, and they are those of the officers, most originating at San Francisco.¹⁰

Officers on both companies' steamships were always Caucasian, with the remaining crew members Chinese, and an examination of available documents show that each steamship carried from 28 to 111 officers and from 29 to 227 Chinese crew members (see Chart A for vari-

ations in Chinese crews). Therefore, the estimated average number of Chinese crew members over the thirty-year period 1876-1906 (average crew members per vessel times total round voyages per vessel) totals 78,433 (see Chart A). With the addition of Chinese crewmen who served on Pacific Mail steamships that plied the Panama route, the average totals 80,523 Chinese who served American merchant shipping.¹¹

Unfortunately, obtaining a figure for the total number of individual seamen employed each year for the thirty-year period appears impossible. Some seamen were undoubtedly hired for more than one voyage, but the few remaining number of crews' lists and seamen's pay accounts with Chinese names intact make it impossible to estimate the duplicated count. It is reasonable to assume, however, that a high percentage of seamen were not duplicated because of the following factors: thousands of unemployed seamen were available for hire in China; Hong Kong was a major Asian "free" port that attracted steamships and ships under sail from all over the world; San Francisco was an attractive port of call for many reasons; all crews' lists from the steamships of both companies specify that the Chinese would be discharged at Hong Kong, and, therefore, new crews were hired a short time before the homewardbound voyage (see Chart B notes for possible minimum and maximum numbers in any one year).

What jobs were open to the Chinese seaman and how did he perform his tasks? How did he relate to the ship's officers and how did they relate to him? What were the attitudes toward Asian seamen by their Caucasian counterparts in the maritime service?

Although the 1882 statement by the United States shipping commissioner indicated that Chinese were employed only as "firemen, cooks, waiters, and servants," existing records show Chinese held a much wider assortment of positions, as well as that their numbers were much greater, than previously acknowledged. An available crew's list from 1884 of the steamship *City of*

LIST OF PERSONS Comprising the Crew of the "CITY OF TOKIO" of NEW YORK whereof is Master, bound for HONG KONG, COLY V.

NO.	CAPACITY.	NAMES.	PLACE OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY (CITIZEN OR SUBJECT)	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.					
						AGE	SEX	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR
1	Boatsman	Ho Ah So	China		China	25	5	2		Dark	Dark
2	"	*Hong Ah Sing				42	5	2			
3	Steward	*Hong Ah Sit				33	5	2			
4	"	*Hong Ah Sui				28	5	1			
5	"	*Wong Ah Tan				30	5	1			
6	"	*Tsu Ah Sim				40	5	1			
7	"	*Wong Ah Fook				34	5	5			
8	"	*Chau Ah Loi				40	5	4			
9	"	*Chau Ah Fat				41	5	10			
10	"	*Chau Ah Chi				30	5	5			
11	"	*Ah Nang				38	5	4			
12	"	*Chau Ah Gao				30	5	6			
13	"	*Wong Ah Jack				34	5	6			
14	"	*Chau Ah Fook				20	5	4			
15	"	*Hong Ah Sui				28	5	10			
16	"	*Chau Ah Long				22	5	5			
17	"	*Chau Ah Chai				35	5	6			
18	"	*Chau Ah Sing				30	5	5			
19	"	*Wong Ah Yung				33	5	5			
20	"	*Wong Ah Yung				31	5	5			
21	"	*Wong Ah Yung				43	5	8			
22	"	*Chau Ah Nam				46	5	5			
23	"	*Ah Chow				42	5	4			
24	"	*Loy Ah No				22	5	7			
25	"	*Loy Ah Loy				23	5	8			

Tokio shows the Chinese crew to include two boat-swains, twenty-four seamen, twenty-four firemen, and thirty coal passers, in addition to cooks, stewards, cabin boys, WC boys, mess boys, storekeepers, bakers, porters, pantrymen, and waiters. (Caucasians serving on the same vessel were captain, chief, second and third officers, four engineers, purser, surgeon, clerk, carpenter, three quartermasters, steward, and stewardess.)

When questioned about the performance of Chinese crews, officers for both companies responded with praise. In times of emergency and subsequent tragedy, officers were quick to defend their crews against harsh criticism. On one such occasion, after the collision of 1888 between the *City of Chester*, a small coastwise steamship, and the *Oceanic* in San Francisco Bay, the Chinese crew was charged with disobeying orders. The captain of the ocean liner said in their behalf: "I have yet to see the first instance in which any of my Chinese crew ever refused to obey orders or showed the least panic."¹² In 1902, the captain of Pacific Mail's *China* (II) expressed the general opinion held by officers toward their crews throughout the years:

I have been master now . . . for twenty-eight years, and for the greater part of that time we have had a Chinese crew

in all departments of the ship. I have always found them capable. A man cannot go to sea for twenty-eight years, especially there [on transpacific voyages] without having a great deal of heavy weather, bad weather, and things getting smashed up. In taking in sails and running after things, the Chinese have always been on hand. They are not eye servants at all. They just attend to their own business and trouble nobody else.¹³

G. R. Worcester, former river inspector for Chinese maritime customs and leading British authority on junks and sampans, assessed the competence of Chinese seamen in this way:

The Chinese sailor appears to flourish not only in his own country, but abroad. The emigrating portion of the Chinese maritime population comes, strangely enough, from a relatively small area in the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien; but wherever they go, they never fail to adapt themselves to their environment, whatever it may chance to be. Some Chinese were employed very successfully as sailors by the early East India-men; so they were initiated to the foreign style of ships and gear a very long time ago. . . . Their courage and skill in navigating and handling their own junks about the China seas is well known. Such work for generations past amid perilous conditions has evolved a hardy race of seamen, whose skill and resourcefulness is second to none in the world.¹⁴

Even Andrew Furuseth complimented the Chinese sailors' abilities. As labor's most vociferous critic of the policy of employing Chinese seamen, he strove for years to keep them out of American shipping. He nevertheless testified at the 1902 hearing that "vessels have experienced no difficulty in the last forty years in obtaining fairly well-trained seamen in any of the important ports of China."¹⁵ His was the first positive statement made by a union official about Chinese seamen. The general belief had always been mixed: either that the Chinese did not serve as sailors, or if they did, that they could not perform as well as Caucasian sailors, especially in the frequent shipboard emergencies. References over the years to Chinese sailors by unionists and newspaper accounts were usually accompanied with criticism of and reservations about their abilities.¹⁶

A profound irony can be found in Furuseth's *Second Address to Seamen*, in which he discussed the importance of the deck and engine departments—presumably alluding to white seamen only—and concluded that sailors and firemen were central to the successful operation of a steamship and around which the union's structure should revolve. He also wrote that boatswains "are able seamen assigned to special work. . . . The able seaman is the unit of skill and efficiency in the deck department," and from among such seamen "come the officers and future masters of vessels."¹⁷

An incident at the famous 1898 battle of Manila Bay proves interesting, considering the dearth of unprejudiced evaluation of the Chinese performance. Fifty Chinese sailors who were recruited for emergency service in the decisive battle were commended by Rear Admiral Dewey for action with "fervor, indifference to danger, devotion to duty, and undivided interest." Dewey later wrote to Washington urging that they be admitted to the United States, but he was referred to the exclusion act which prohibited the landing of Chinese laborers in America.¹⁸

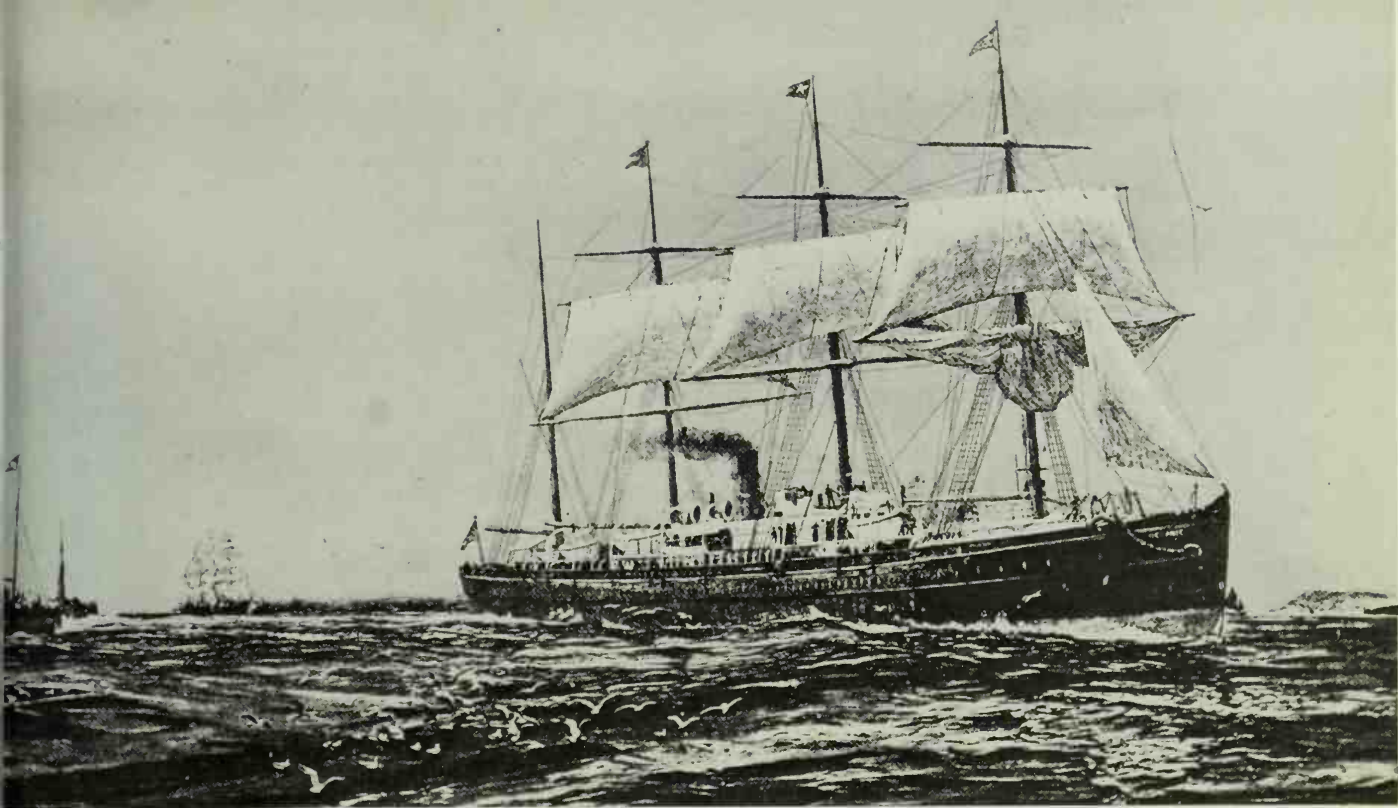
Chinese crews kept their steamships on rigorous time-

No merchant ship ever sailed the seas that was so embowered in sentiment as the Oceanic. All the time we had her at San Francisco she was a great favourite of the travelling public and of people who took interest in ships. She was the first modern steamer that floated on the waters of the Bay of San Francisco and even to this day the old mariners speak of her beauty and smart lines. She was just as much of a clipper-ship as she was a steamer. And, oh my, how that ship could sail!—Oceanic Officer W. H. Smalliman

tables, and well into the twentieth century the vessels carried clergymen, government representatives, naval officers, merchants, students, and tourists eager to reach their destinations with dispatch. The record steamship crossing of the Pacific was established by the Occidental and Oriental's *Oceanic* in October, 1889, when she passed the whistling buoy at the San Francisco Bar after thirteen days, fourteen hours, and six minutes out of Yokohama.

During the peak years of the Chinese immigration from 1876 to 1890, steamships also carried an estimated 200,000 Chinese to West Coast ports and over one-half that number back to China where they visited or remained. With steerage tickets selling from \$40 to \$50, American and British companies realized over \$11 million in steerage sales alone. Occidental and Oriental's grand *Oceanic* had carried more than 1,000 steerage passengers on a single voyage.¹⁹

Freight also brought considerable revenue to steamship companies over the years. In 1886 and 1887, for example, Occidental and Oriental carried to the Orient



flour, abalone, barley, beans, beer, beef, pork, grain, leather, liquor, livestock, quicksilver, and treasure (refined silver, Mexican dollars, and jewelry) totalling in receipts \$227,400 and \$234,200. Returning from Asia the ships carried tea, sugar, opium, bamboo, china-ware, coffee, ginger, rattan, silkworm eggs, spices, tobacco, and treasure totalling in receipts \$545,400 and \$519,500.²⁰

While first-class passengers in a fine merchant vessel such as the *Oceanic* were accorded the most pleasant surroundings and luxurious furnishings possible, including a library, grand piano, and fireplaces, steerage passengers had to contend with large open spaces below decks and inadequate “airing” space allotted them above deck. When voyages became overcrowded in the steerage, conditions were uncomfortable in the extreme:

Thousands applied for transportation (in Hong Kong), but after the space between decks was solidly filled, the ship’s officers declined to receive more for want of room. No fewer than two thousand were turned away the day the ship sailed.

The space assigned to each Chinaman is about as much as is usually occupied by one of the flat boxes in a milliner’s store. It would be a strange sight to one not accustomed to it to see a framework of shelves, not eighteen inches apart, filled with Chinese. If a few barrels of oil were poured into the steerage hold, its occupants would enjoy the distinction, so often objected to, of being literally “packed like sardines.”²¹

Chinese immigration to the United States diminished gradually in the 1880’s after the United States Congress amended the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 and passed the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. It forbade Chinese the right to naturalized citizenship and suspended the immigration of laborers, skilled and unskilled, for a period of ten years.²² The act culminated a long period of unrest and antagonism toward Chinese laborers, and it was a move which the seamen’s union, as well as other unions, wholeheartedly endorsed. Like most other Caucasian workingmen, seamen believed that the Chinese in American shipping competed unfairly for jobs, and diminished wages and working conditions for sailors everywhere. Between 1876 and 1906, however, wages



for men who labored at sea remained relatively constant, the Chinese being hired out of Hong Kong for \$7 to \$15 (American) per month, while seamen hired out of stateside ports were paid from \$25 to \$55 (American) a month.²³

Steamship companies such as Pacific Mail and Occidental and Oriental found the Chinese most desirable as competent seamen and as a low-wage labor force. Crews were easy to secure, because the introduction of steam power on China's seas and rivers in the 1860's and 1870's had left thousands of Chinese unemployed. In the same years, shipping at Hong Kong rose steadily, turning the port into a great hiring hall which attracted thousands of seamen. By hiring Chinese seamen, then, Pacific Mail and Occidental and Oriental saved more than \$1,440,000 in wages over a thirty-year period.²⁴ Throughout this era Pacific Mail defended its hiring policy against repeated attacks by organized labor and politicians and maintained that if it were forced to hire stateside seamen, their higher wages would drive the company out of business. It also claimed that there were not enough Americans available to man its steamships.

Before the 1882 exclusion act which made it illegal to hire non-residents at an American port, Chinese seamen probably maintained complete freedom of

movement in port cities. Sometime after 1884, however, Chinese seamen apparently were required to carry a white tag for identification and permission to move about freely until their vessels departed for the return voyages.²⁵ Subsequent immigration regulations (requiring, for example, the posting of bonds while ashore) attempted to restrict movement, although the seamen may have been relatively unrestricted until 1888, 1890, or conceivably until the late nineties. The accumulating restrictions promulgated in the late 1890's placed difficult constraints on Chinese seamen and forced the companies to provide living accommodations at their docks.²⁶ A Postal Subsidy Act in 1891 attempted to regulate the numbers of Chinese crew permitted on board vessels receiving government subsidies for carrying mail.

When a Chinese exclusion convention was convened in 1901 at San Francisco's Metropolitan Temple, Pacific Mail Company again came under attack from the attending politicians and county and labor union representatives. The conference was called principally to petition President Theodore Roosevelt and Congress to extend the expiring exclusion act, and Pacific coast maritime unions urged the convention to support a provision "prohibiting the engagement of Chinese and

Despite exclusion laws and intense anti-Chinese agitation, Chinese seamen continued to be hired to man American vessels. At the turn of the century the Chinese crew of the Guy C. Goss unloaded lumber at Taku Bar, China.

other Asiatics in any capacity on any vessel under the American Flag." Pacific Mail's hiring of Chinese seamen, they claimed, was a violation of the spirit and letter of the first exclusion act, and American ships ought always to be bound by the laws of the United States.²⁷ They also inferred that Pacific Mail was treated with favoritism. Pacific Mail, for its part, consistently maintained that once a vessel left the continental United States it was outside the jurisdiction of the courts; that Chinese crews hired in Hong Kong for a round voyage remained on shipboard at all times; and, therefore, that the exclusion act did not apply to men on company vessels.²⁸

In 1902, Andrew Furuseth conveyed the maritime unions' position, as formulated at the exclusion convention the preceding year, to a Senate hearing investigating extension of the exclusion act. His testimony on various and largely unsuccessful exclusion measures reveals the difficulty experienced in keeping Chinese seamen from hiring out on American vessels plying the China trade. Furuseth first expressed frustration with the apparently unenforceable Postal Subsidy Act of 1891, which required that vessels in the mail service be American-built and that annually increasing portions of the vessels' crews be citizens of the United States. Then he gave full support to the proposed Senate Bill 1342, which stated for all ships flying the U.S. flag that:

It shall be unlawful for any vessel not foreign to have or employ in its crew any Chinese person not entitled to admission to the United States, or into the particular territory of the United States to which such vessel plies; and any violation of this provision shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$2,000.00.²⁹

The act was not passed, but in 1915 the Federal Seamen's Act, conceived by Furuseth and nursed through the Senate by Robert LaFollette, again attempted to restrict hiring practices on American ships. Crafted as a seamen's "Emancipation Proclamation" that would attract native-born Americans back into maritime serv-

ice, the act improved working conditions on board ships and attempted to reduce the number of Chinese—and, increasingly, Japanese and Filipino—seamen employed on American vessels. (By 1900, some 80 percent of the nations' seamen were foreign-born.) The act also established percentage quotas for crews, requiring that annually increasing percentages of seamen on any vessel be able to understand orders given in the English language.³⁰ Like the earlier exclusion act and exclusion regulations, the seamen's act increased restrictions on the remaining Chinese sailors in the United States merchant marine.

Prior to the 1882 law, an 1872 act of Congress (Revised Statute 2172) had made it possible for some Chinese seamen to gain United States citizenship, and evidence suggests that several Chinese on each American steamship in the period following the act carried either naturalization or residence papers.³¹ Many others jumped ship and entered the country despite immigration restrictions, to the constant and ongoing concern of American immigration officials.³² It is reasonable to believe, then, that thousands of Chinese sailors would have become American citizens—as sailors from other nationality groups did—had there been no barriers to their immigration.

The report by the shipping commissioner in 1882 that 350 Chinese came under his "official supervision" is especially ironic when the circumstances that precipitated the report are considered. The intent of the Trades Assembly was to reduce significantly or to remove completely the Chinese who were serving shipping and other industries.³³ The commissioner's report obviously relegated the Chinese involvement to a minor role, similar to the absence of recognition since that time of this unique major contribution to the nation's shipping industry. The error of the report, the intent of the unions, and the absence of customary documentation resulted finally in the creation of an invisible merchant marine.

The print on page 65 is reproduced from Chatterton's *Steamships and Their Story* (London, 1910). The photograph of the *China* (II) is from the CHS Library; of the Guy C. Goss on page 66, courtesy the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. The photo on page 58 and the list on page 63 are courtesy the author.

Notes

1. William Martin Camp, *San Francisco: Port of Gold* (New York, 1948), is an example of such bias. Camp does not supply documentation which also presents additional critical problems for the researcher.
2. "Statistical Report of Chinese Employed on the Pacific Coast," *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, January 8, 1882.
3. Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 168, gives credence to the quote. There is an earlier study in *Overland Monthly* (March, 1869), p. 239, that deals with the economic activities of Chinese in California and lists the various occupations Chinese engaged in, but it does not give their numbers. It stated, however, that Chinese served not only as "servants on the Panama steamers," but "as sailors, deck hands, and cabin servants on the China steamers."
4. *Examiner*, August 24, 1888; *Alta California*, October 7, 1888.
5. *Chinese Exclusion Convention, San Francisco, 1901*, p. 111, in the James D. Phelan Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California.
6. Senate, Report 776, Chinese Exclusion Hearings, Committee on Immigration, 52 Congress, 1 Session, 1902, 246-48. The Northern Pacific Company was receiving mail compensation from the U.S. Postal Service for carrying the mails on its transpacific runs. The subject of mail compensation was a recurring concern throughout Furuseth's testimony.
7. Two early studies about Pacific steamships and the two companies are: Benjamin C. Cooper, *San Francisco's Ocean Trade: Past and Future—1848-1911* (San Francisco, 1911), and Will Lawson, *Pacific Steamers* (Glasgow, 1927). Basic information for this article on the two companies, however, was supplied by John Kemble's more detailed and exceptional articles: "A Hundred Years of Pacific Mail," *The American Neptune*, April, 1950, and "The Big Four At Sea: The History of the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, April, 1940. Various records and business papers of Pacific Mail and a few Occidental and Oriental holdings are at the Huntington Library. See also Kemble, *Sidewheelers Across the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1942). The White Star Line was owned by the Oceanic Steam Navigation Co., whose parent organization was Ismay, Imrie, and Company.
8. Kemble, "Big Four at Sea," 346, 350.
9. Record books on the Pacific Mail Company could have provided information at the turn of the century, but the company must have denied access to them because of the controversial nature of its hiring of Chinese crewmen in the period of the Chinese exclusion laws and later pressures to hire fixed percentages of United States citizens for each steamship, as dictated by the Postal Subsidy Act of 1891.
10. The Chinese lists must have been lost, separated as a result of special regulations growing out of the exclusion period, or purposely destroyed through collusion between the collector's office and Pacific Mail. Crews lists at the National Archives and Records Service are: *City of Rio de Janeiro*, November, 1898; *Peru*, May, 1901; *City of Tokio*, December, 1884; *Manchuria*, August, 1904. The Seamen's Pay Accounts are preserved at the Huntington Library. *China* (II) was Pacific Mail's only vessel built outside the United States, and it kept a British registry until 1899. Her crew list for September, 1889, is in the holdings at St. John's University of Newfoundland. Occidental and Oriental's crews lists are difficult to obtain. Although the two companies shared the same dock in San Francisco, they apparently kept separate books, even after the same men controlled both lines. Record books and papers concerning the steamships that were chartered from the White Star Line are minimal, and very little is available. The difficulty in obtaining crews' lists is compounded by the fact that a limited amount of ships' manifests from Occidental and Oriental ships exists as archival material. However, a copy of one list with Chinese names is available—that of the small steamship, *Belgic*, in 1883. It is also in the holdings at St. John's. Occidental and Oriental, unlike Pacific Mail, designated its seamen "AB" for Able Seamen, a universal term for proven experience.
11. This total would appear to be a conservative one. Rather than choose all the years Chinese were hired by Pacific Mail (1867-1915) and Occidental and Oriental (1875-1908), concentration is on 1876-1906, sailings that could be readily substantiated from the records of the Collector of Customs at the Port of San Francisco (National Archives and Records Service). These were the years in which the greatest number of Chinese were hired. Also not included here are the Chinese who served the following routes: transpacific runs operated by J. D. Spreckels & Sons; transpacific runs out of Washington State and San Diego; and ships under sail. These areas will be treated in a subsequent study.

The numbers of Chinese seamen who served American shipping are significant when compared to other occupations where Chinese were found in considerable numbers. In 1869, the peak year of railroad construction, some 10,000 Chinese were employed. In 1881, a successful year for canneries, 3,000 Chinese found work. In the peak era of mining in California, an estimated 9,000 Chinese were at work. In the peak period of cigar-making, 1878-79, 4,000 Chinese were employed.

Once the peak periods passed, however, the numbers of Chinese in these occupations declined considerably, whereas the Chinese involvement at sea was ongoing and cumulative for approximately forty years.

Pacific Mail's coastwise runs after 1882 were not considered due to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act that year. It is reasonable to assume that Pacific Mail had greater difficulty hiring Chinese seamen for that route in succeeding years, and without evidence from crews' lists or wage payments after 1882, inclusion would be pure speculation.

12. *Examiner*, August 28, 1888.
13. Senate, *Report 776*, p. 361.
14. G. R. Worcester, *Sail and Sanpan in China* (London, 1966), pp. 26-27.
15. Senate, *Report 776*, p. 244.
16. During the 1890's and 1900's the *Coast Seamen's Journal* was exceptionally vociferous in its sustained attacks on the service of Chinese seamen. Also see *Senate Report 689*, Exclusion Hearings, 1877, pp. 243-44; *Senate Report 776*; *Examiner*, August 24, 1888; Exclusion Convention, 1891, pamphlet.
17. "Second Address to Seamen," Andrew Furuseth Collection at Bancroft Library.
18. *New York Times*, February 23, 1899. About the Chinese performance in the battle, H. H. Bancroft wrote that the Chinese "served faithfully, were efficient, and obedient in service, active and brave in battle, and freely risked their lives in our cause." Nevertheless, Bancroft characterized Dewey's request as a "pathetic plea." Bancroft, *The New Pacific* (1900), p. 595.
19. Figures on steerage earnings are based on the supposition that at least 65 percent of the Chinese who took passage to the United States entered through the Port of San Francisco and at least half that amount returned to China over the years. *Examiner*, August 23, 1888.
20. Also exported from San Francisco were canned foods, clocks, corpses, fish, fishbones, funguses, ginseng, green fruits, groceries, hay, hoofs and horns, hops, lumber, machinery, medicines, oats, oil, old glass, old junk, old metal, paint, potatoes, rubber goods, seaweed, shark fins, shrimps, sinews, soap, vegetables, and wheat. Other items imported from Asia were beans, curios, indigo and gambier, hemp, lacquer, medicines, nut oil, pepper, plants and trees, paper, quicksilver flasks, shells, tapioca, and sage.
21. *Examiner*, August 28, 1888.
22. An excellent study written at the turn of the century dealing with the exclusion acts is Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909).
23. It was popularly believed that Chinese seamen received \$15 (American) a month, a discrepancy which renders inaccurate many statements made during the seventies and eighties. See *Alta California*, May 3, 1870; *Examiner*, August 24, 1888; *Exclusion Convention*, San Francisco, 1901, p. 111.
24. A. Macmillan, *Seaports of the Far East* (London, 1925), p. 212. These savings figures are based on the conservative estimate of 80,000 seamen.
25. *Alta California*, October 7, 1888, explains that before the Scott bill passed (October 1, 1888), it was customary to issue (return) certificates to the Chinese sailors who, when they signed ships articles, were given a white tag, which entitled them to go ashore at pleasure. An exclusion act was passed in 1884 that attempted to tighten up regulations by establishing the "return certificate" based on "prior residence" as being the sole evidence of the right to re-entry.
26. Regulations dealing with the movement of seamen in American ports appeared throughout these years, and four of these developments are listed in Senate, *Report 291*, Regulations, 52 Congress, 1 Session, 1902, pp. 46-47.
27. *Exclusion Convention*, San Francisco, 1901, p. 112.
28. In 1906, Furuseth, acting for the unions, took the company to court, claiming violation of the Chinese Exclusion Act and Alien Contract laws. Although for most purposes a ship with a U.S. registry was considered American territory, the courts held that the exclusion acts did not apply to the hiring of Chinese on American vessels. See *Coast Seaman's Journal*, May 10, 1911.
29. Senate, *Report 776*, p. 246. See also *Report of the Commissioner of Navigation*, 56 Congress, 3 Session, pp. 140-41.
30. Walter MacArthur, *The Seaman's Contract* (San Francisco, 1919), pp. 33, 223.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Surviving crews' lists show that a handful of seamen on each list were not designated to be discharged at Hong Kong, and Captain William Seabury, employed for thirty years by Pacific Mail, commented in the 1902 hearing that some Chinese on his ships had American papers.
32. Reports from the commissioner general of immigration beginning in the 1890's deal at length with "alien seamen" entering the United States illegally on both coasts and the country's borders.
33. Frank Roney, a leading union organizer and president of the Trades Assembly in 1882, commented in his autobiography that he was personally responsible for ordering the compilation of the statistical report on Chinese. He also wrote: "On my suggestion the Trades Assembly issued a call for a Pacific Coast Labor Union Convention to devise the best plan to submit to Congress for the purpose of getting rid of the Chinese. . . . The State had already taken a vote on the subject and had almost unanimously decided that they should be excluded (author's emphasis)." *Autobiography* (Berkeley, 1931), pp. 359-359.

the Chinese as medical scapegoats in San Francisco, 1870-1905

Much has been written about anti-Chinese sentiment on the West Coast during the 1870's and 1880's, especially the agitation to restrict Chinese immigration into the United States. Little has been said about anti-Chinese prejudice as reflected in the formulation of public health policy on the West Coast. Health policy, however, manifests not only the state of the medical sciences, but the expectations and the value system of society-at-large. In the era when health officials looked to sanitary reform as the primary means of preventing epidemic disease, the presence of an alien population living in substandard quarters was both socially and medically threatening. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Chinese were to become medical scapegoats; up and down the Pacific coast (and in the Hawaiian Islands) local health officials rationalized the failure of their sanitary programs by tracing all epidemic outbreaks to living conditions among the Chinese. This phenomenon was to last for over thirty-five years. Only after Chinese immigration was finally curtailed, following implementation of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (and amendments of 1884), and only after scientific research began to unlock the mysteries of disease transmission did medical scapegoatism begin to abate.¹

The seeds for medical scapegoatism in California first appeared in the 1860's. Whereas in the 1850's the early Chinese immigrants had been admired for their industry and frugality, by the 1860's the Chinese were considered to be "an inferior race" and a "degraded" people.² By the 1870's, the racist argument had broadened in scope, and the Chinese were viewed as "a social, moral

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San Francisco's "Three Graces"—malaria, smallpox, and leprosy—stalked the city throughout the '70's and '80's, and health officials incorrectly traced them to Chinatown's "vapors" and crowded conditions.

and political curse to the community.”³ Specific arguments advanced against the Chinese included: 1) the economic argument, as advocated by nativist and workmen’s groups, that cheap Chinese labor undermined wage rates and adversely affected employment practices on the West Coast; 2) the cultural argument, that the once enlightened Chinese civilization was corrupt and backward and that Chinese immigrants represented the lowest classes in China;⁴ 3) the assimilationist argument, that the Chinese did not desire to merge into the American mainstream and, with their “abounding vices” (prostitution, gambling, opium-smoking), were impervious to the “loftier ideals” of Western civilization;⁵ 4) the racist argument, that America should maintain a homogenous population and that national degeneration would ultimately result from permitting an inferior race (the Chinese) to mingle with a superior race (the Caucasian);⁶ 5) the biological argument, that the Chinese were “inferior in organic structure, in vital force, and in the constitutional conditions of full development”;⁷ and, finally, 6) the medical argument, that the Chinese, ignoring all laws of hygiene and sanitation, bred and disseminated disease, thereby endangering the welfare of the state and of the nation.

Commenting in 1900 upon the dominant anti-Chinese mood of the late nineteenth century, Reverend Ira M. Condit, pastor of a Presbyterian Church mission in San Francisco’s Chinatown since 1870, observed as follows:

There seems to be a combination of reasons which breed and keep alive this animosity against our Mongolian brothers. Race antagonism has undoubtedly something to do with it, but the fact that they do not assimilate with us has more. They constitute a foreign substance cast into our social order, which will not mingle, but keeps up a constant irritation. The amount of irritation depends upon the size of the disturbing mass. A few Chinamen would have no perceptible effect. They could be easily digested by the national stomach. . . . But multiply units by millions, and the matter becomes exceedingly serious. Hence the fear of their

pouring in upon us in overwhelming crowds has had much to do with our attitude toward them.⁸

In 1900 when Reverend Condit was writing about the Chinese, anti-Japanese sentiment had also made its appearance on the West Coast. However, because the high tide of Japanese immigration was to occur many years after that of the Chinese, a tradition of using the Japanese as medical scapegoats never developed. Advances in medical knowledge about the causation and transmission of epidemic disease had made any arguments along this line intellectually indefensible. Instead, the Japanese were accused of having an excessively high birth rate, an argument never advanced against the Chinese. (The Japanese arrived in the United States as family units, or male immigrants imported “picture brides”; Chinese immigrants, on the other hand, were largely male laborers who left their wives or families behind in China.)⁹ While the Japanese never became medical scapegoats, they were at times subject to discriminatory action, such as during the bubonic plague scare of 1900-1904. This paper, then, will focus on the Chinese as medical scapegoats, dealing specifically with the situation as it existed in San Francisco from the year 1870, when the city’s Board of Health was reorganized, to 1905, when public health officials concluded their five-year battle against bubonic plague in the Chinatown area.

By 1870, San Francisco had the largest concentration of Chinese in California—24.4 percent of the state’s Chinese population.¹⁰ Although they comprised 5 percent of the total population of San Francisco, only a token number were admitted into the health facilities operated by the city and county.¹¹ In 1870, the primary municipal facilities were the Almshouse, built in 1867 and located on eighty acres near Lake Honda (site of

the present Laguna Honda Home), and City Hospital, built in 1854 and located on Francisco and Stockton streets. Chinese patients were shunted off to a smallpox (or "pest") hospital or to a special building, originally operated exclusively for the Chinese and later designated as the Lazaretto or Lepers' Quarters. Both of these facilities were located at Twenty-Sixth and Army streets, near the site of the future City and County Hospital (opened in 1872).

In 1870, the San Francisco Board of Health was reorganized as a distinct political unit with considerable power within the city. Composed of the mayor and four physicians appointed by the governor of California, the board supervised the administration of the city hospitals, the jail, the correctional school (the industrial school), and the quarantine system for the harbor. It also appointed a city health officer (also a physician) who was to oversee health and sanitary conditions within San Francisco.¹² While these physicians were theoretically chosen from among the best trained members of the profession, the range of municipal problems with which they were confronted was often beyond the scope of their medical expertise. Thus, the pronouncements of the board and the health officer were often characterized by political or social expedience, rather than by scientific insight. Beginning in the 1870's, they were to credit Chinatown with introducing and disseminating every epidemic outbreak to hit San Francisco. In the words of one astute physician writing in 1876: "The Chinese were the focus of Caucasian animosities, and they were made responsible for misdeeds in general. A destructive earthquake would probably be charged to their account."¹³

The line of attack used by health officers against the Chinese was directly related to the medical theories of the period. According to the miasmatic theory of disease popular in the 1870's, epidemic outbreaks were caused either by the state of the atmosphere or by poor sanitary conditions affecting the local atmosphere. China-

Pronouncements by the board of health . . . were often characterized by political or social expedience, rather than by scientific insight.

town, with its "foul and disgusting vapors," was regarded as the primary source of atmospheric pollution within the city. Numerous citations were issued by the health authorities for such sanitary offenses as "generating unwholesome odors," improper disposal of garbage, faulty construction of privy vaults and drains, and failure to clean market stalls.¹⁴ When a virulent smallpox epidemic struck San Francisco in 1875-76, the city health officer ordered every house in Chinatown to be thoroughly fumigated. Nevertheless, the epidemic raged on, resulting in some 1,646 reported cases with 405 deaths among the white population of San Francisco.¹⁵ Unable to account for the severity of the epidemic, the city health officer, J. L. Meares, offered the following explanation:

I unhesitatingly declare my belief that the cause is the presence in our midst of 30,000 (as a class) of unscrupulous, lying and treacherous Chinamen, who have disregarded our sanitary laws, concealed and are concealing their cases of smallpox.¹⁶

To the sanitarians of the 1870's, Chinatown was more than a slum. It was "a laboratory of infection," peopled by "lying and treacherous" aliens who had minimal regard for the health of the American people.

The general acceptance of the germ theory in the 1880's did little to dispel the popular belief that epidemic outbreaks were directly attributable to conditions within Chinatown. As before, medical theorization was inseparably linked with social attitudes and prejudices.

The "germ" theory of disease is now an acknowledged fact



in the science of medicine. . . . This theory teaches us that material like cloth, tobacco, food, if exposed to the atmosphere charged with those germs, is infected by them, and thus detrimental to the health of the wearer or consumer of such merchandise. The dangerous result of such evil, we hold, is practically proven by the ravages of diseases like diphtheria, etc., in this city, irrespective of time, season or places. The physician who tries to trace the source of the infection is mostly always unable to do so, and we believe that the existing evils in Chinatown are the proper source.¹⁷

By 1880 criticism of conditions in Chinatown had become so widespread that the Board of Health, responding to political pressure, issued a resolution formally condemning Chinatown as a "nuisance."

The Chinese cancer must be cut out of the heart of our city, root and branch, if we have any regard for its future sanitary welfare . . . with all the vacant and health territory around this city, it is a shame that the very centre be surrendered and

abandoned to this health-defying and law-defying population.

We, therefore, recommend that the portion of the city here described be condemned as a nuisance; and we call upon the proper authorities to take the necessary steps for its abatement without delay.¹⁸

Proposals to quarter the Chinese outside of the city limits of San Francisco were advanced at this time, primarily under the sponsorship of the Anti-Chinese Council of the Workingmen's party. Similar proposals had been set forth since the 1850's and would recur again in the 1890's and at the time of the bubonic plague crisis in the early 1900's.¹⁹ However, no formal condemnation proceedings were ever instituted, and Chinatown remained located in the center of San Francisco. This central location brought the Chinese into daily contact with the Caucasian population of the city and was a

A virulent smallpox epidemic in the mid-1870's claimed the lives of 1000 Chinese, making street funerals a commonplace sight.

constant source of irritation to many San Franciscans. To one city health officer, Chinatown was "the moral purgatory" through which all who pass come out nauseated and disgusted, and perchance defiled by Mongolian filth or disease.²⁰

Sanitarians and politicians were especially concerned about the large number of so-called "courtesans" who operated in the Chinatown area. These prostitutes were believed to be infected with a particularly virulent form of syphilis that was almost impossible to cure. Testifying before the congressional committee investigating conditions in Chinatown in 1877, Dr. H. H. Toland (founder of the Toland Medical College, subsequently the University of California Medical School) reported that nine-tenths of the venereal disease in San Francisco could be traced back directly to Chinese prostitutes. Since it was believed that most of the Chinese houses of prostitution were patronized primarily by whites, Chinese prostitution was seen as "the source of the most terrible pollution of the blood of the younger and rising generations." In his testimony, Dr. Toland stated unequivocally that he had never heard or read of any country in the world where there were so many syphilitic young men as in San Francisco.²¹

An equal source of consternation to the medical community—and to the general public—was the presence of lepers in the Chinatown area. Apparently, by 1875 a number of lepers of particularly "loathsome appearance" had drifted to San Francisco from throughout the state. While some sought treatment at the Twenty-Sixth Street Lazaretto, the majority were presumed to be hidden in the "subterranean dens" of Chinatown. During the 1870's and early 1880's, little was known about the etiology of leprosy. It was presumed to be hereditary, contagious, incurable, more common in the male than female, and likely to disappear with hygienic improvement.²² To one city health officer, leprosy among the Chinese was "simply the result of generations of syphilis, transmitted from one generation to an-

In 1878 and again in 1883, health authorities descended on Chinatown, ferreted out the lepers, and placed them in the 26th Street Lazaretto with the intention of sending them back to China at the first opportunity.

other."²³ Another view held that leprosy was inherent in the Chinese and infused into the Caucasian race by the smoking of opium pipes previously handled by Chinese lepers.²⁴ As early as 1871, the Chinese were accused of introducing "the dread scourge" of Mongolian leprosy to the West Coast. In 1876, an amendment to the general police law of California made it unlawful for persons afflicted with leprosy to live in ordinary intercourse with the population of the state and provided that such persons "be compelled to inhabit lazarettos or lepers' quarters."²⁵ In 1878 and again in 1883, health authorities descended on Chinatown, ferreted out the lepers, and placed them in the Twenty-Sixth Street Lazaretto with the intention of sending all Mongolian lepers back to China at the first opportunity. Of the 128 lepers admitted to the Lazaretto from July, 1871, to April, 1890, 115 were classified as "Mongolians" and 83 of the total number were ultimately shipped back to China.²⁶

Except for cases of leprosy, deportation on medical grounds was not a common procedure during the nineteenth century. Rather, immigration officials attempted to prevent the entry into this country of persons suspected of carrying contagious disease. Regulations for reporting infectious disease on incoming vessels had existed since the 1850's. By 1870, shipmasters entering San Francisco harbor were required to report to the quarantine official of San Francisco all cases of Asiatic cholera, smallpox, yellow fever, typhus,

and “ship fever.”²⁷ Increasingly, the fear was expressed that the Chinese in particular were carriers of alien disease that would cause the physiological decay of the American nation.²⁸ In May, 1873, the San Francisco Board of Health passed a resolution whereby all vessels arriving from China were required to come to anchor in the Bay and all passengers were to be subjected to a personal examination by the quarantine officer.²⁹

Generally, quarantine of incoming passengers was laxly enforced during the 1870's. However, with the acceptance of the germ theory in the 1880's, efforts were intensified to prevent the importation of foreign germs into this country. A regulation of the San Francisco Board of Health, dated June, 1884, specified that all vessels arriving from Asiatic ports must be detained for inspection, fumigation, and disinfection.³⁰ Another measure, dated July, 1884, specified the method of inspection to be used for all vessels arriving from Asian ports.

The Quarantine Officer and his assistants shall make an examination of every part of the vessel into which they can enter. . . . Two or more inspectors shall, after all the Chinese steerage passengers have been brought on the upper deck, commence at the extreme rear portion of each deck . . . and proceeding forward, examine every compartment, state-room, storeroom . . . driving all Chinese steerage passengers they may find on the upper deck. When the inspection of the vessel is completed, the Quarantine Officer shall come on deck, and, with the aid of his assistants, shall count the Chinese passengers, men, women and children separately. The white passengers and crew must be mustered and counted first.³¹

Until the 1890's, quarantine of incoming vessels was generally a state function. The National Quarantine Act of 1873 had empowered the surgeon general of the United States Marine Hospital Service to enforce port quarantine only if he did not interfere with the laws and procedures of the states involved.³² However, with the passage of the quarantine law of February 15, 1893, the United States Marine Hospital Service was given direct responsibility for administration of port quaran-

tine. (With the implementation of this law came a series of jurisdictional disputes between the quarantine officer of San Francisco and officers of the Marine Hospital Service. These disputes, which lasted into the early years of the twentieth century, often hampered the effective administration of quarantine procedures.) In 1894, bubonic plague was reported in Canton and Hong Kong, and within a short span of time, the disease spread throughout the port cities of the Far East. In 1896, the San Francisco Board of Health declared the ports of Yokohama, Kobe, Shanghai, and Hong Kong to be “infected” with bubonic plague. Under the board's ruling of December 16, 1896, all Chinese and Japanese passengers, together with their baggage and portable effects, were to be remanded to the city's quarantine station.³³ While all passengers ostensibly were subject to inspection, only Asiatics were subject to detention. Through these procedures, health officials hoped to protect American shores from that ancient enemy of man—the bubonic plague.

By 1900, scientific investigators were hard at work trying to pinpoint the mechanism whereby bubonic plague was transmitted from one individual to another. Although the plague bacillus had been isolated in 1894 and the role of the rat as a carrier of the disease had long been suspected, the actual transmission of the disease through fleas—first suggested in 1897—was as yet an unconfirmed theory. Numerous views existed in the medical press as to the possible causes of plague transmission; drinking or eating contaminated food, respiration of contaminated air, and inoculation through skin abrasion were popularly held views. Because the plague had never occurred on the North American continent, many local physicians expressed doubts about the possibility of an epidemic on the West Coast:

Repeatedly invading Chinatown in the 1890's, health officials destroyed buildings suspected to be sources of disease. In this newspaper illustration, an officer "surveys with satisfaction" the "demolishing of the Den of Filth at 832 Jackson."



In America . . . and in the enlightened countries of Europe under the improved sanitary conditions of progressive civilization, there need be no apprehension of a repetition of the horrors of the past. It is well known that the disease will not long exist in the absence of squalor, uncleanness, overcrowding and insufficient air and sunlight.³⁴

This optimistic attitude proved to be short lived. In December, 1899, two cases of bubonic plague were reported in Honolulu's Chinatown. Measures were immediately instituted by the Hawaiian Board of Health to depopulate the area and to burn infected houses. Ultimately, 4500 Chinese were removed to a quarantine camp, and the Chinese quarter was totally burned.³⁵ Meanwhile, health officials from the Marine Hospital Service suspected that plague also existed on the West

Coast. Two probable cases had occurred in San Francisco as early as November, 1898, but because of inadequate bacteriological examinations, no official diagnosis of plague was ever made. In June, 1899, a Japanese steamer arrived in San Francisco harbor and reported three deaths from bubonic plague while at sea. Federal health officials realized that it was just a matter of time before an epidemic struck San Francisco.

Then, on March 6, 1900, the body of a deceased Chinese male was removed from the basement of a hotel in Chinatown. Because the deceased had not been under the care of a licensed physician at the time of death, an autopsy was required before a burial permit would be issued by the city. The autopsy revealed enlarged lymph nodes, and bubonic plague was consid-

ered the probable cause of death. One day later, on March 7, city authorities placed a rope cordon around Chinatown in an attempt to close off some 14,000 Chinese from contact with the white population of the city. On March 9, Chinatown was temporarily released from quarantine, but guards were placed at each point of exit from the city to examine all Chinese attempting to leave the city by rail or by ferry and to detain all persons with symptoms of plague. At the same time, a house-to-house inspection of Chinatown was ordered. Sewers and dwellings were disinfected with sulfur dioxide and bichloride of mercury. Within the next months, the quarantine was reinstated, and every house in the district, "except those inhabited by the wealthy and usually clean Chinese," was washed from garret to cellar with a caustic disinfectant. Household goods were removed and aired in the streets for one to three days, and all cellars and basements were thoroughly whitewashed.³⁶

Meanwhile, a "medico-political" scandal was brewing. The governor of California, Henry T. Gage, and executives of big business and of the large railroads, in conjunction with the San Francisco Board of Trade, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and the Merchants Association, were all determined to prove that the plague did not exist in San Francisco. According to one historian, "They did not wish the world to know that San Francisco harbored the Black Death. Such news was bad, for business and capital, always timid and jumpy, were fearful of sick rats and Chinamen."³⁷ On the other hand, the San Francisco Board of Health and the Marine Hospital Service declared that the plague existed in San Francisco and determined to institute preventive measures such as quarantine, mass vaccination, and possibly depopulation and destruction of Chinatown.³⁸ On March 22, the president of the San Francisco Board of Health issued a statement declaring that the Chinese quarter was infected with plague, that the Chinese were concealing cases of the disease, and that

local newspapers were suppressing news of the plague. Shortly thereafter, quarantine measures against California were announced by the states of Texas and Colorado; ultimately, quarantine procedures were instituted by Louisiana, the Hawaiian Island, British Columbia, Mexico, and Ecuador.³⁹

Two months later, on May 21, 1900, the surgeon general of the Marine Hospital Service, Dr. Walter Wyman, requested authority from President William McKinley to issue regulations regarding interstate travel by Asiatics. Under the law of March 27, 1890, the following powers had been granted to the presidency:

Whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the President that cholera, yellow-fever, or plague exists in any State or Territory . . . he is hereby authorized to cause the Secretary of the Treasury to promulgate such rules and regulations as in his judgment may be necessary to prevent the spread of such disease from one State or Territory into another. . . . The said rules and regulations shall be prepared by the Supervising Surgeon General of the Marine Hospital Service under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.⁴⁰

Authority to regulate travel was granted by the secretary of the treasury on May 22, and the following regulations were adopted:

The surgeon general of the Marine Hospital Service is authorized to forbid the sale or donation of transportation by common carrier to Asiatics or other races particularly liable to the disease.

No common carrier shall accept for transportation any person suffering with plague or any article infected therewith. . . .

The body of any person who has died of plague shall not be transported except in hermetically sealed coffins and by consent of the local health office.⁴¹

Chinese and Japanese were refused the right to leave the state without possession of certificates of Haffkine prophylactic vaccination from the Marine Hospital Service. The Marine Hospital Service placed inspectors at Reno, Nogales, Needles, Yuma, Ashland, and the Oregon border to check on departing Asiatics.⁴² Simul-

CITIZENS' HEALTH COMMITTEE OF SAN FRANCISCO
TO ALL HOUSEHOLDERS

KILL THE RATS

TRAPS: The best trap for dwellings, stores, etc., is the large cage trap.

BAIT: To be changed daily between: cheese, fish heads, chicken heads, fried bacon, fresh liver and pine nuts.

Bait to be tied on inner side of top of trap.

Smoke the trap after handling and before setting again for other rats.

Cover the trap except entrance with sacking.

Place trap near usual feeding place of rat.

Snap traps are best in butcher shops, bakeries and restaurants.

Bait should be tied on.

POISON: All druggists can furnish a good rat poison. Follow directions. Place in rat holes, beneath floors and in covered places. **DO NOT PLACE WHERE ACCESSIBLE TO CHILDREN.**

DISPOSITION OF RATS: On delivery of dead or trapped Rats at any Health Station, (see reverse side,) a bounty of 10c. per Rat will be paid. Rats should be carried to Station in closed tin boxes or cans.

IF NOT CONVENIENT TO TAKE RATS TO HEALTH STATION, TELEPHONE TO NEAREST STATION AND RATS WILL BE CALLED FOR AND BOUNTY PAID BY INSPECTOR ANSWERING CALL.

(OVER)

EXHIBIT B (FACE). TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THOUSAND OF THESE CARDS WERE DISTRIBUTED. THEY WERE ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE CIRCULARS.

Rat-proofing became a central concept in plague-control after 1900. Information leaflets were widely distributed in the city, and captured rats were inspected for disease at the city "ratatorium."

ommended. . . . Seven thousand Chinese must be moved before Chinatown can be cleansed. Citizens committee has over \$40,000 subscribed for quarantining these people. Am trying to obtain use Mission Rock warehouse for detention camp. This will house 1,500.⁴¹

However, on June 7, the circuit court refused to allow implementation of the detention plan. Similarly, on June 15 the court ordered the quarantine of Chinatown lifted.

Only a few cases of plague were reported in the summer and fall of 1900, but the Hospital Service remained adamant that something must be done. Meanwhile, the governor and his business cronies continued to deny the existence of plague in California. Surgeon J. H. White, chief of the division of domestic quarantine within the United States Marine Hospital Service, suggested that the testimony of the best bacteriologists in America was needed to confirm or deny the diagnosis of plague. In January, 1901, Secretary L. J. Gage of the Treasury Department appointed a commission of experts consisting of Professors Simon Flexner of the University of Pennsylvania, F. G. Novy of the University of Michigan, and L. F. Barker of the University of Chicago. The commission found that plague did in reality exist in San Francisco.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the governor and his appointees on the State Board of Health continued to oppose all plague-control efforts and refused to allow inspection of other California cities where plague was rumored to exist. In San Francisco, Mayor Eugene Schmitz refused to approve the printing of health reports and vital statistics and even attempted to remove from office four members of the Board of Health who persisted in stating that plague existed in San Francisco.⁴⁶ Not until a new governor, George Pardee, a practicing physician and former member of the Oakland Board of Health, was inaugurated in 1903 was any real progress made towards plague control in California.

Meanwhile, in February, 1903, the San Francisco Board of Health augmented its policy of fumigation and

taneously, the Southern Pacific Railroad ceased selling tickets to Asiatics.⁴³

These drastic procedures proved short-lived, however. On May 28, the United States circuit court in San Francisco, acting on a petition from the Chinese Six Companies, ruled against the travel regulations adopted by the Marine Hospital Service.

Next, federal health officials attempted to create a detention camp for the quarantine of Asiatics. The following telegraph message from J. J. Kinyoun, federal quarantine officer for San Francisco, to the surgeon general of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service in Washington, D.C., was sent on June 4:

Have learned from local board, Secretary of War consents use of Angel Island for detention camp. China Cove rec-

*Chinatown was popularly viewed
as "a laboratory of infection."*

disinfection by ordering the extermination of rats in the Chinatown area through use of traps and poison. In addition, garbage collection in the area was to be expedited, and the streets of Chinatown were to be swept thoroughly three times a week and flushed with water once a week.⁴⁷ That spring, the State Board of Health passed a resolution recommending the removal of Chinatown from its central location in the heart of the city, noting that the presence of "a large alien and unassimilable population" was a "constant menace" to the health, commerce, and industries of the city, the state, and the nation at large.⁴⁸ Recognizing that fire could not safely be employed in ridding San Francisco of its "pest-hole," as had been done in Honolulu, the state board proposed that the area be razed and that the ground be saturated with a liberal treatment of chloride of lime and carbolic acid.

The following year, less drastic methods were recommended. On February 6, 1904, the State Board of Health, the San Francisco Board of Health, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and the Marine Hospital Service passed the following joint resolution:

RESOLVED, That all cellars, basements, and underground places in the district between California and Pacific, Stockton, and Kearny, be condemned as places of abode and the same be destroyed; that in case of reconstruction, the owners be required to remove surface soil and to concrete the area thus exposed solidly from wall to wall.⁴⁹

Thus began one of the first recorded attempts to control the spread of plague through rat-proofing. By the end of June, 1904, all wooden basement flooring in some twenty-two city blocks had been totally destroyed.

The last case of human plague in this first outbreak was reported on February 29, 1904; plague control

measures continued until April, 1905. Altogether, 121 cases of plague were disclosed, with a death rate of 118. The vast majority of the victims were Chinese. This episode is notable because of the persistent belief by local, state, and national officials that bubonic plague, as it existed in the United States, was limited to persons of Asiatic origin.⁵⁰ As noted in a publication of that time, bubonic plague was "an Oriental disease, peculiar to rice-eaters."⁵¹

Then, in April, 1906, came the great San Francisco earthquake and fire. The ground shock broke open sewers and scattered debris from the ruined buildings everywhere. Thousands of homeless were temporarily housed in "wooden tents" and other flimsy shelters or in large camps under the direction of the Red Cross. Uncovered holes in the earth served as latrines; garbage was stored haphazardly, often in uncovered receptacles, or dumped in vacant lots. The rat population in the city flourished, and simultaneously, fleas became unusually prevalent throughout the city.⁵²

This was the setting for the second outbreak of bubonic plague in San Francisco. Yet nobody expected the plague to recur, and when the first case was reported in May, 1907, the public was incredulous. From May, 1907, to March, 1908, 167 cases of plague were reported with a total of 89 deaths. Of the total cases reported, only 8 of the victims were Chinese.⁵³ During this second epidemic, however, there were no attempts to deny the existence of plague in San Francisco nor attempts to conceal cases of the disease. Whereas the role of the rat and its ectoparasites had not been fully understood at the time of the first epidemic outbreak in 1900, by 1907 the concept was routinely accepted by public health officials. A citywide campaign was organized to rid San Francisco of its rat population, and the public enthusiastically supported the formation of a Citizens' Health Committee which worked in conjunction with federal officers and with the local and state boards of health. Buildings throughout the city were ratproofed, proce-



dures for trapping and poisoning of rats were initiated, and the quarantine of incoming and outgoing ships was effectively administered. Of significance, the epidemic outbreak was not traced back to the presence of the Chinese in San Francisco; medical scapegoatism had been rendered obsolete by the improved public health measures.

Another aspect of the story of the Chinese as medical scapegoats in San Francisco is the effect of public health policy upon the Chinese community itself. Throughout the nineteenth century, city officials were reluctant to finance any health services for the Chinese population even though Chinatown was popularly viewed as "a laboratory of infection." Early Chinese immigrants realized the necessity of banding together and providing for their own health care needs. In the 1850's they first grouped together into associations based upon loyalty to clan (family associations) or place of origin (district associations). In the 1860's, the district associations fed-

erated into the Chung Wah Kung Saw, which later became known as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, or the Chinese Six Companies. During this period, each of the district associations maintained a small "hospital" in San Francisco for use by their aged or ailing members, a facility usually consisting of little more than a few bare rooms furnished with straw mats.⁵⁵ The existence of these hospitals was in direct violation of city health codes, but local officials allowed them to operate. In fact, during the leprosy scare of the 1870's, health officers ruled that lepers should be "debarred from hospital maintenance" at city expense and that "the Chinese companies should be compelled to maintain them and send them back to China."⁵⁶ Thus, from August, 1876, to October, 1878, known lepers were housed in the so-called Chinese "hospitals"; thereafter, health authorities ruled that all lepers were to be isolated in the Twenty-Sixth Street hospital.

Not only were local authorities ambivalent about admitting Chinese patients to municipal facilities, but they also were hesitant about providing sanitary services within the Chinatown area. Dr. A. B. Stout, a promi-

nent physician and member of the California Board of Health, testified before a congressional investigating committee in 1877 that "the city authorities undertake to clean the city in other parts, but the Chinese are left to take care of themselves and clean their own quarter at their own expense."⁵⁷

Whenever a major epidemic threatened San Francisco, however, health officials descended upon Chinatown with a vengeance. During the smallpox epidemic of 1876-1877, for instance, city health officer J. L. Meares bragged that not only had he ordered every house in Chinatown thoroughly fumigated, "but the whole of the Chinese quarter was put in a sanitary condition that it had not enjoyed for ten years."⁵⁸ Similar comments were made at the time of the bubonic plague in 1900-1901 when nearly every house in the district was disinfected and fumigated.

In the nineteenth century medical care in Chinatown was largely provided by herbalists and pharmacies in the classic tradition of Chinese medicine. As late as 1900, no Chinese physicians appear to have been licensed to practice medicine in the state of California; in fact, not until 1908 was the Medical Department of the University of California in San Francisco to graduate a physician of Chinese origin.⁵⁹ Some Chinese of the merchant class did seek treatment from Caucasian physicians, usually for surgical care not available from Chinese practitioners.⁶⁰ In the 1880's a few church missions in Chinatown also began offering the services of white female physicians for pediatric and obstetrical care. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, the vast majority of Chinese were unwilling to consult Caucasian doctors because, as one historian has noted, "the language barriers, the higher fees, and strange medications and methods were too much to assimilate."⁶¹

The reluctance on the part of the Chinese to seek medical attention outside of Chinatown accounted in part for their low admission rate to the San Francisco City and County Hospital and to the Almshouse during

Year	Total Patients Under Care ¹	Chinese Patients Under Care ²
1871	626	2
1872	628	0
1873	603	1
1874	713	2
1875	832	0
1876	763	2
1877	960	4
1878	913	1
1879	938	1
1880	1,066	0
1881	1,103	0
1882	1,045	1
1883	1,008	0
1884	1,060	0
1885	1,110	0
1886	1,034	0

¹ Compiled from annual *Municipal Reports*, listings of admissions to Almshouse.

² Ibid. Patients not separated according to race in listings of admissions. Figures based on country of birth.

the last century (for statistics on admissions, see tables). An examination of the statistics on admissions to the city and county hospital for the years 1870-1897 reveals that less than .1 percent of the hospital inpatients were of Chinese origin, whereas the Chinese population in the city varied from 5 to 11 percent of the total population. Statistics on admissions to the Almshouse disclose an even lower admission rate: of 14,402 admissions from 1871 to 1886, only 14 cases were of Chinese origin.

Obviously, the low admission rate of the Chinese to municipal facilities cannot be attributed entirely to reluctance to seek Western-style care. An 1881 article in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, headlined "No Room for Chinese: They are Denied Admission to the County Hospital," referred to a resolution of the Board of Health, adopted several years earlier, that had essentially closed City and County Hospital to Chinese patients.⁶² The article pointed out that in the fall of 1881 the Chinese consul had petitioned the Board of Health on behalf of an ailing Chinese immigrant who desired to gain ad-

ADMISSIONS TO SAN FRANCISCO CITY AND COUNTY HOSPITAL, 1870-1897

YEAR	TOTAL S. F. POPULATION ¹	CHINESE POPULATION ²	% CHINESE IN S. F. POPULATION	HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS ³	"YELLOW" ⁴ PATIENTS ⁴		NATIVITY	
					NO. ADMITTED	NO. DEATHS	CHINA	JAPAN
1870	170,250	8,600	5.0%	2,942	25	10	9	2
1871	172,750	9,000	5.2%	2,737	34	11	34	—
1872	178,276	10,000	5.6%	2,388	11	3	11	—
1873	188,323	12,000	6.4%	2,863	9	1	9	—
1874	200,770	14,500	7.0%	3,231	8	1	6	2
1875	230,132	19,000	8.2%	3,921	21	1	11	1
1876	272,345	30,000	11.0%	3,376	4	4	4	—
1877	300,000	30,000	10.0%	3,012	8	0	1	5
1878	300,000	30,000	10.0%	3,007	9	6	6	2
1879	300,000	30,000	10.0%	3,174	18	1	8	10
1880	305,000	22,000	7.2%	2,955	21	3	10	11
1881	234,520	22,000	9.4%	3,204	27	3	10	12
1882	234,520	22,000	9.4%	3,151	17	2	6	8
1883	250,000	22,000	8.8%	3,002	12	1	1	7
1884	270,000	22,000	8.1%	3,288	20	2	5	13
1885	270,000	22,000	8.1%	3,191	29	4	7	22
1886	280,000	22,000	7.9%	3,140	39	6	3	36
1887	300,000	22,000	7.3%	3,128	31	4	8	23
1888	330,000	30,000	9.0%	2,914	20	4	8	12
1889	330,000	30,000	9.0%	3,022	*28	5	10	20
1890	300,000	30,000	10.0%	3,466	*34	6	1	41
1891	330,000	18,000	5.5%	3,468	*19	6	0	30
1892	330,000	18,000	5.5%	4,393	unavailable		2	62
1893	330,000	18,000	5.5%	3,614	—	7	0	36
1894	330,000	18,000	5.5%	3,782	—	4	1	39
1895	330,000	18,000	5.5%	2,680	—	6	0	14
1896	360,000	18,000	5.0%	3,422	—	5	7	32
1897	360,000	18,000	5.0%	3,583	—	10	15	28

¹ *Municipal Reports*, 1898, p. 200.

² *Ibid.*, p. 201.

³ *Municipal Reports*, 1899, p. 626. Statistics on admissions exclude birth figures.

⁴ Compiled from annual *Municipal Reports*, listings of admissions to City & County Hospital. The listings include a breakdown by race: "white," "yellow," and "other."

⁵ *Ibid.*

*NOTE: Discrepancy between "yellow patients" admitted and total based on nativity. No explanation given in *Municipal Reports*.

mission to the city and county facility. Fearing an influx of Chinese patients with chronic diseases, the board passed a resolution that all Chinese patients who thereafter requested care were to be assigned to a separate building on the Twenty-Sixth Street hospital lot.⁶³ Apparently, this policy remained in effect throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. A document dated 1899 noted that

the City and County Hospital only opens its doors to a limited number of [Chinese] patients. The remainder of the patients are taken to the small, dismal Charnel-house established by the Chinese Companies, and known as the "Hall of Great Peace," or else to the Leper Asylum or Pest-House.⁶⁴

Although the ban on Chinese patients at both the City and County Hospital and the Almshouse was common knowledge, city officials continued to claim that San Francisco opened its municipal facilities to the sick and poor of any nationality.⁶⁵

Because of the difficulties inherent in obtaining care at municipal expense, the Chinese community sought

from an early date to fund a well-equipped hospital within the Chinatown area. Dr. Stout, in his congressional testimony in 1877, mentioned that the Chinese desired very much to establish a general hospital and a smallpox hospital, similar to those built by the French and German communities. Reportedly, the Chinese were willing "to pay liberally and freely" to establish a hospital, with patient care to be provided by both white and Chinese physicians.⁶⁶ (In order to secure approval from the Board of Supervisors for the erection of such a hospital, the Chinese community recognized that their physicians would have to work in conjunction with state-licensed Caucasian physicians.)

Nothing more is heard of any hospital plans until the early 1890's when land was purchased in the southern outskirts of San Francisco in the name of the Chinese consul general of San Francisco. Plans were drawn up for a hospital, and funds were collected both locally and from foreign sources. When construction of the hospital was about to begin, "city authorities forbade further



Opening its doors in 1900, the privately funded Tung Wah Dispensary on Sacramento Street offered both Western and Chinese treatments to patients denied care at city and county medical facilities.

proceedings on the ground that the promoters only intended to use objectionable Chinese systems of medical treatment.”⁶⁷ It can be surmised that the real objections were to the proposed location of the hospital outside the perimeter of Chinatown.

In 1899, the community planned to rent a house in a “suitable locality” to be fitted up as a hospital and dispensary where only practitioners with American or European diplomas were to be allowed to visit the patients. The dispensary was to give free advice and medicine to indigent clinic patients; the hospital was to consist of twenty-five beds for use by both clinic and paying patients. The Chinese Hospital (Yan-Chai-i-yün) was incorporated under California law in March, 1899. At that time, twenty-one persons (including twelve Caucasians) pledged to become members of the hospital by payment of an annual subscription of \$5. Except for the Chinese consul general, the officers of the hospital’s first governing board were to be prominent members of the white community.⁶⁸ This project, too, must have been shelved because no further trace of this hospital can be found.

Shortly thereafter bubonic plague was discovered in

Chinatown; public officials suddenly were faced with the fact that no health facilities existed in Chinatown for the care of plague victims. As early as May, 1900, the surgeon general of the Marine Hospital Service, Dr. Walter Wyman, suggested that one of the more “substantial” buildings in the area should be converted into a pest hospital.⁶⁹ The War Department, on the other hand, preferred to see the Chinese quarantined on Angel Island. Neither plan went into effect, and in April, 1901, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors appropriated funds for the erection of a hospital in Chinatown. The city auditor immediately declared that the appropriation was illegal, and accordingly, the hospital was never constructed.⁷⁰

About the time that plague was discovered in Chinatown, the Chinese Six Companies realized that it was imperative for the Chinese community to organize its own health care system. The result was the Tung Wah Dispensary which opened in 1900 at 828 Sacramento Street. The dispensary, which employed both Western-trained physicians and Chinese herbalists, was funded entirely by the Chinese Six Companies, and this dispensary was to be the forerunner of the present-day

Chinese Hospital which opened its doors in April, 1925.⁷¹

In 1900, in addition to financing the dispensary, the Chinese Six Companies instituted legal action to prevent local, state, and national officials from enforcing discriminatory measures aimed at the Chinese. In court, their attorneys won the right for non-licensed Chinese physicians to attend autopsies conducted under the jurisdiction of the San Francisco Board of Health. Similarly, their lawyers forced the courts to end the quarantine of Chinatown as ordered by the Board of Health. In May, 1900, when the U.S. Marine Hospital Service imposed a ban on interstate travel by Asiatics, the secretary of the Chinese Six Companies obtained a restraining order from the U.S. circuit court, arguing that such a ban was unfair class legislation.⁷²

Public health officials were infuriated by the legal tactics of the Chinese Six Companies. Dr. J. J. Kinyoun, federal quarantine officer for San Francisco, expressed his indignation in the following statement:

The various injunctions which have been entertained by both state and federal courts . . . have all conspired to convince the Chinese Six Companies that they in nowise consider the Chinamen amenable to observe or comply with the health laws of the city, state, or United States. The attitude assumed by this powerful corporation forms a good excuse for the individual Chinaman to follow suit and set at naught and defiance any or all rules and regulations which are considered necessary for the sanitary protection of the citizens of this state and country.⁷³

Although the Chinese were extremely hostile to the official anti-plague measures, this lack of cooperation stemmed in part from their unfamiliarity with public health procedures. When quarantine of Chinatown was first instituted, the Chinese attempted to prevent door-to-door inspection by locking up their homes and shops.⁷⁴ When health officials attempted to vaccinate the Chinese with Haffkine prophylactic serum, riots broke out in Chinatown.⁷⁵ Finally, when health officials came into the area to search for victims of the plague, the sick

were reportedly hidden in the cellars and "subterranean passages" of Chinatown.⁷⁶ Health officials despaired, neither understanding nor sympathizing with the motives of the Chinese. In the words of J. J. Kinyoun: "We never can expect to accomplish in our dealings with this race what we intend to do."⁷⁷ Accordingly, in 1905 after the first episode of the plague had ended, public health officials retreated from Chinatown, unofficially delegating the Chinese Six Companies with the responsibility of caring for the health needs of the Chinese community.

In the years to come, the overcrowded living conditions in Chinatown were to result in a high incidence of tuberculosis. For instance, the average yearly death rate from tuberculosis for the years 1912-1914 was 622 deaths per 100,000 as compared to a citywide average of 174.⁷⁸ In 1929, after the introduction of tuberculin testing of cattle and pasteurization of milk, the Chinese mortality rate was 276 deaths per 100,000 as compared to a citywide average of 83.⁷⁹ Yet, until 1933 no public health facilities existed within Chinatown for the diagnosis or treatment of tuberculosis. One 1915 health report noted the absence of clinics in the Chinatown area and stated as follows: "The Six Companies is probably in a better position than any other group to cooperate with the Board of Health in instituting curative and preventative measures among their own people."⁸⁰ In other words, the city had adopted a "hands off" policy with regards to health care among the Chinese. Not until March 1933, when the Chinese Health Center was established in the nurses' room at the Commodore Stockton School, would the city attempt to cope even half-heartedly with the tuberculosis problem in Chinatown.⁸¹

Today, the outright discrimination against the Chinese has ceased. Nevertheless, a continuing phenomenon is the reluctance of many Chinese—particularly among the aged or non-English speaking immigrant groups—to seek health services outside of the Chinatown area. Thus, while members of the Chinese community rou-

tinely seek medical care in hospitals, offices, and clinics throughout San Francisco, Chinatown itself continues to present a unique situation for the organization of health services. In one sense, the Chinese ceased being medical scapegoats by 1905; after that date, advances in medical science made obsolete the nineteenth-century policy of condemning the Chinese as "carriers of alien disease." However, the failure of the City and County of San Francisco to provide health services within Chinatown was to have a more enduring effect. As late as 1967, the only outpatient facility furnishing *acute* medical services to the Chinese indigent in Health District IV (Chinatown-North Beach) was the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Clinic, located in North Beach and funded in part by the United Crusade and by the San Francisco Department of Public Health.⁸² The city facility—the Northeast Health Center—was housed during this period in the basement of the Ping Yuen Housing complex; a tuberculosis clinic, a well-baby clinic, dental services, an immunization center, and a public health nursing service were all provided in 1200 square feet of converted laundry space.⁸³ In other words, a paucity of medical services existed in Chinatown as late as the 1960's; not until the 1970's was the situation finally remedied.

The illustration from the San Francisco Call, September 5, 1896, on page 77 is courtesy Dr. Albert Shumate, San Francisco. The May 26, 1882, Wasp cartoon on page 71 and the photograph on page 81 are from the Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library. The photograph on page 74 is courtesy The Bancroft Library; the photograph on page 84, courtesy Chinese Hospital, San Francisco. Other illustrations are from Frank M. Todd and the Citizens' Health Committee, Eradicating the Plague in San Francisco (San Francisco, 1909).

Notes

- In the 1880's, bacteriologists began to isolate the micro-organisms responsible for some of the most feared diseases known to man. Important dates of discovery include: typhoid fever, 1880; tuberculosis, 1882; cholera, 1883; diphtheria, 1883; tetanus, 1884; and bubonic plague, 1894.
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Chinese Immigrants and the Angel Island Immigration Station

Island

Native American Miwoks living in what is now Marin County probably had their own designation for the largest island in San Francisco Bay, but when the Spanish ship *San Carlos* dropped anchor nearby in August, 1769, commanding officer Juan Manuel de Ayala named it *Isla de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*. Anglicized to "Angel Island" after California fell under American rule in 1846, it was known simply as "Island" to an entire generation of Chinese who immigrated to California in the first half of the twentieth century. For them this scenic spot with the cherubic name held no romantic memories, for between 1910 and 1940 it was the location of the Angel Island Immigration Station. As a major facility of the bureaucratic apparatus established to administer the Chinese exclusion laws, the complex temporarily housed tens of thousands of Chinese immigrants who were interrogated and then processed or rejected for entry into the United States.¹

In the year 1882, a key date in American immigration history, the first Chinese exclusion law was passed following years of domestic anti-Chinese agitation. Marking a basic change in U.S. immigration policy, the law declared immigration to be no longer free and unrestricted, and the Chinese were given the dubious honor of being the first racial group whose entry to the country was thus limited.²

Initially the 1882 law barred only the entry of Chinese laborers for ten years and left open the question of admission of other classes of Chinese. By 1888, however, the pressure of anti-Chinese groups had shaped its interpretation so as to deny admission to all Chinese except those classes specifically exempted by treaty: officials, merchants, teachers, students, and travelers for curiosity or pleasure. The exclusion act was revised

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of Immortals

several more times, closing loopholes and becoming stricter in its provisions, and by the turn of the century, the restriction process was consciously and actively moving toward total exclusion.³

During these years, events across the Pacific did not bode well for the Chinese people either. China's traditional society was falling apart under the pressures generated by intruding Western nations, and life was increasingly difficult. Many Chinese, especially in southeast China, were virtually forced to seek better conditions abroad. Thus, despite the known unfriendly environment for the Chinese in the United States, they were willing to risk rejection under the exclusion laws in order to enter this country and improve their economic lot. Some traveled to Canada or Mexico, where they were smuggled across the borders into the United States. Others sought admission at one of the American ports of entry, the largest proportion debarking at San Francisco. Many held credentials of questionable validity.⁴

Under the United States immigration regulations, the burden of proof for entry qualification rested upon Chinese persons claiming the right of admission to, or residence within, the United States, to establish such right affirmatively and satisfactorily . . . and in every doubtful case the benefit of the doubt shall be given . . . to the United States government.

Reflecting the anti-Chinese prejudices of the period, the belief at the Bureau of Immigration was that the Chinese were a people "deficient in a sense of the moral obligation of an oath," and inspectors held all Chinese claims for right of admission suspect until proven otherwise. Believing that Chinese immigration was bad for the country, they sought to exclude rather than to admit and hence routinely subjected new arrivals to intensive and detailed cross examinations.⁵

Over the years an extremely high percentage of Chinese were denied admittance to the United States. For example, during the fiscal year 1902-1903, inspectors

"In every doubtful case the benefit of the doubt shall be given . . . to the United States government."

in San Francisco landed 1628 Chinese and debarred 516, and for the fiscal years 1903 through 1905 they rejected one out of every four applicants from the exempt classes.⁶ To the authorities these statistics served to prove the fraudulent intent of the bulk of the Chinese applying for admission.

The Chinese, however, viewed the immigration authorities' draconian administration of the exclusion laws as unfair and discriminatory, terming the statutes *keli* or "tyrannical laws." They addressed numerous complaints to the United States government and to Chinese diplomats stationed in this country, objecting to the harsh treatment of the Chinese in general and protesting in particular the suspicious and discourteous attitude evidenced toward members of the exempt classes. They charged that many questions asked by the immigration officials were unreasonable, impossible to answer correctly, and intended to entrap rather than to elucidate information. They alleged that some officials even questioned female applicants on intimate details of their marital lives and embarrassed them into silence.⁷

In 1905 these grievances about immigration procedures resulted in a boycott of American goods which started in Shanghai and spread to Canton and other Chinese cities and many overseas Chinese communities. Sustained several months, the boycott forced the U.S. to relax some of the more objectionable regulations. The basic negative attitude of the immigration authorities toward Chinese immigration, however, remained unchanged,⁸ and it was against this background of struggle that the Angel Island Immigration Station was proposed and established.



In the late nineteenth century as many as 500 Chinese were detained in a dismal two-story shed at Pacific Mail's wharf.

hroughout the late 1880's and early 1900's Chinese ship passengers arriving at San Francisco were detained in a two-story shed at the Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharf (known to the Cantonese Chinese immigrants as *muk uk* or "wooden house") until immigration inspectors could examine them and determine their admissibility. As many as 400 or 500 people were crammed into the facility, and conditions there were described in 1900 by Reverend Ira Condit, a missionary working among the Chinese in California, as follows:

Merchants, laborers, are all alike penned up, like a flock of sheep, in a wharf-shed, for many days, and often weeks, at their own expense, and are denied all communication with their own people while the investigation of their cases moves its slow length along.⁹

Chinese community leaders in Chinatown, alarmed at the unsafe and unsanitary condition of the structure, accordingly addressed numerous complaints to U.S. officials. Immigration Commissioner General F. P. Sargent finally inspected the facility on November 18, 1902, and was forced to declare that

[so] far as the Chinese immigrants are concerned, the facilities . . . are entirely inadequate. . . . [The] detention shed should be abolished forthwith. Chinese are human beings and are entitled to humane treatment, and this is something they do not receive under present conditions. . . .¹⁰

Sargent's report of 1903 recommended that funds be appropriated to erect an immigration station on Angel Island for accommodation of aliens, chiefly Chinese and other Asians. The forthcoming decision to move the station to Angel Island was not solely due to humanitarian concern, however, for officials also felt that the

island location would effectively prevent Chinese on the outside from communicating with the detainees and would isolate immigrants with "the communicable diseases which . . . are peculiarly prevalent among aliens from oriental countries."¹¹ The station would also be escape-proof.

The Sundry Civil Appropriation Act of March 3, 1905, included \$200,000 for erection of the station, and Walter J. Mathews was selected as architect for the facility. Work begun at the North Garrison (Winslow Cove) area of the island was interrupted by the San Francisco Earthquake in 1906, and an additional appropriation had to be requested in the same year because of the increased cost of labor and materials. Construction resumed in 1907, and the facility was completed in October of 1908. The complex included an administration building, power house, hospital, and detention building, with a wharf and dock storehouse at the beach below.¹²

Inquiring into the expense involved in opening the station, Assistant Secretary of Labor Wheeler reported that it was a modern and commodious plant and "delightfully located, so far as scenic, climatic and health conditions are concerned." He was of the opinion, however, that the station's remoteness from San Francisco would entail additional expense in the order of \$50,000 per annum. Wheeler also reported that there was no necessity for its immediate occupancy.¹³

Although leaders in San Francisco's Chinatown opposed the idea of transferring the immigration station to the middle of San Francisco Bay, they neglected to take action until the facility was almost ready to be occupied. On November 8, 1909, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce belatedly sent a letter signed by eighty prominent Chinese merchants to President William Howard Taft and the Department of Commerce and Labor protesting the move. The group maintained that the insular location and infrequency of ferry service would make it difficult for witnesses to attend immigra-

tion examinations, especially for whites who were somewhat reluctant to be witnesses in Chinese cases. The Chinese merchants also petitioned Wu Tingfang, the Chinese minister in Washington, D.C., to apply pressure through diplomatic channels.¹⁴

There is a Chinese saying, "A weak nation cannot practice effective diplomacy," and as the imperial Chinese government had been powerless to protect her subjects in America from harsh anti-Chinese exclusion laws, so the troubled government was ineffective in forestalling the move to the new facility. Hence, on November 21 the Department of Commerce and Labor rejected the Chinese community's remonstrations, pointing out that they had not raised any voice of protest when the facility was in the design stage and that it was now too late to change plans.¹⁵

The Angel Island station officially opened on January 21, 1910. The next morning at 9:00 A.M., 101 people from the S.S. *Siberia* (including 84 Chinese men, 1 Chi-

nese woman, 3 Japanese, and 4 East Indians) who had not been allowed to debark in San Francisco were removed from Pacific Mail Company's wharf and transferred to the island. The Chinese immigrants on the S.S. *China* followed, and by the end of the day, over 400 passengers, mostly Chinese, had been moved to the insular facility without incident.¹⁶

The opening of the facility moved the influential Chinatown newspaper *Chinese World* to reflect on past treatment of the community and to anticipate its future reception. On January 22, 1910, it editorialized:

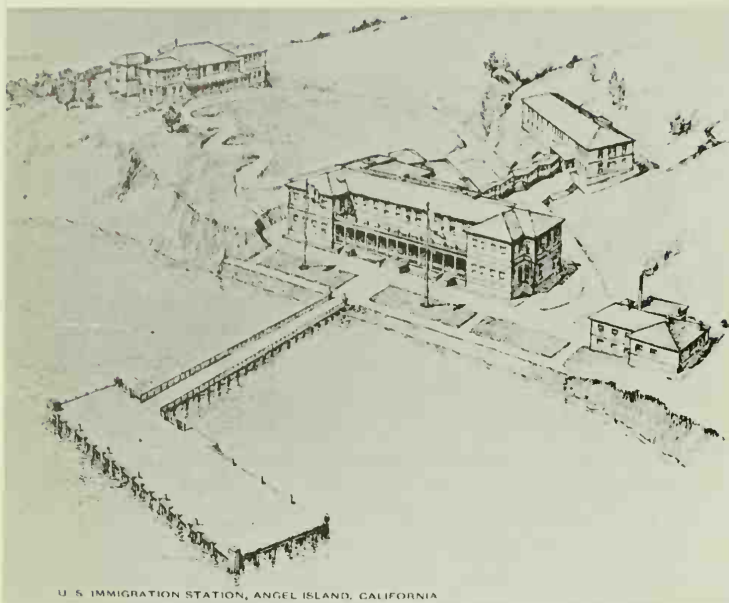
Ever since the establishment of this wooden shed at the wharf, the mistreatment of us Chinese confined there was worse than for jailed prisoners. The walls were covered with poems [expressing feelings about being incarcerated]; traces of tears soaked the floor. There were even some who could not endure the cruel abuse and took their own lives. The ropes they used to hang themselves are still visible. Those seeing this cannot help but feel aggrieved and gnash their teeth in anger. Now the Chinese had been moved from this wooden shed. From now on we will be confined on a barren offshore island.

The Chinese community in San Francisco still had hopes of returning the station to the mainland, and a few weeks later the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco respectively appointed Ng Poon Chew (Wu Panzhao) and Look Tin Eli (Lu Run-ging) to a delegation being sent to Washington, D.C., to fight the harsh and discriminatory immigration regulations. However, when the men raised the question of moving the station back to the mainland with the secretary of commerce and labor, he refused to entertain the proposal seriously and declared that access to Angel Island was easier than access to Oakland (across the Bay from San Francisco). If the Chinese didn't consider the Pacific Ocean and a month-long voyage from Hong Kong an obstacle, he concluded, why should they object to the short boat trip to Angel Island.¹⁷

The government did respond to the delegation's re-



Women and men were held separately during their confinement.



U. S. IMMIGRATION STATION, ANGEL ISLAND, CALIFORNIA



quests with some small concessions. It agreed to allow principals and witnesses in outgoing cases to be examined on the mainland and to land all new exempts and return domiciled exempts whose cases seemed to hold no reason for further inquiry.¹⁸ Most Chinese arrivals and their witnesses, however, still would be required to go to Angel Island. The disappointed delegation returned with meager results.

In April of that year, when Manchu Prince Zai Tao arrived at San Francisco to study military conditions in the U.S., the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) petitioned him to use his offices to help improve the treatment of the Chinese and to move the immigration station back to the mainland. In June, attorney Carroll Cook was sent by the CCBA to Washington, D.C., to discuss immigration concerns with officials, and again the status of the island station was one of the items on his agenda. There was also talk of having the transpacific Chinese passenger traffic bypass San Francisco for Seattle, as well as of renewing the 1905 anti-American boycott if the government did not accede to the Chinese requests. All these efforts to return the immigration station to the mainland failed, however, and it remained on Angel Island for the next thirty years.¹⁹

During the first decade of the facility's existence, major internal problems troubled its administration. A few months after its opening, the immigration commis-

sioner supervising the station, Hart North, was suspended from his post. One of the charges leveled against him was that he was partial to Japanese and Hindu immigration.²⁰

In 1917 a major scandal developed when a graft ring was discovered to be stealing and manipulating Chinese records at the station in connection with illegal entries. Eighteen people were indicted (including eight from the Immigration Service), and seven were found guilty. As well, the San Francisco law firm of Stidger and Kenah, which handled numerous Chinese cases, was banned from practicing at the Bureau of Immigration.²¹ Subsequently, no large scandals reached the station, although from time to time the occasional dismissal of interpreters and other employees indicated that petty graft was by no means completely eradicated.

It also did not take long for the government to tacitly agree with the Chinese that the insular location of the station was unsatisfactory, although they came to the conclusion for different reasons. A few months after the facility's opening, acting commissioner Luther Steward submitted reports highly critical of the many physical and sanitary drawbacks in the facility's design. As early as 1913 the visiting secretary of labor observed that Angel Island was located too far from San Francisco to be convenient as an immigration station, suggesting that Fort Mason or Alcatraz Island might be better sites. In 1920 Immigration Commissioner Edward White de-

The proposed Angel Island facility (left) included a wharf leading to an administration building, a detention building to the rear, and a hospital to the left. Other outbuildings were added to the island complex in the 1910's and 1920's (right).

"The ramshackle buildings are nothing but firetraps. . . . The sanitary arrangements are awful. If a private individual had such an establishment, he would be arrested by the local health authorities."

clared that the facility's structures were like tinder, and he proposed removing the station to the mainland to cut expenses. By 1922 both Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward J. Henning and Commissioner General of Immigration W. W. Husband were in agreement with this idea. The latter declared moreover that the island facilities were filthy and unfit for habitation:

The plant has practically nothing to commend it. It is made of a conglomeration of ramshackle buildings which are nothing but firetraps. They are illy arranged and inconvenient. The sanitary arrangements are awful. If a private individual had such an establishment he would be arrested by the local health authorities. The whole place is . . . not worth spending any money on.²²

In subsequent years the same questions were raised time and again,²³ but while bureaucrats debated, tens of thousands of Chinese immigrants continued to pass through these facilities over the next two decades. It was not until 1940 that the government finally abandoned the immigration station, and the exodus was hastened by a fire which destroyed the station's administration building on August 12 of that year. On November 5, Angel Island's last group of about 200 aliens, including 125 Chinese men and 19 Chinese women, was transferred to temporary quarters at 801 Silver Avenue in San Francisco.²⁴

This final move prompted little opposition, for although discrimination against the Chinese were still

common, the issue of Chinese immigration no longer inflamed people's passions in the same way. Exclusion laws had throttled the flow of Chinese to a small stream, and the Chinese in California had dropped from 8.7 percent of the total population in 1880 to less than 0.6 percent in 1940. Most Chinese had been relegated to occupations non-competitive with white Americans and segregated in Chinatown ghettos. Thus the Chinese were tolerated, if not accepted by many. In the intervening years, too, the focus of racist attacks had shifted to the Japanese. Moreover, by 1940 people's attentions were taken by the more immediate and pressing issue of impending world war.

After the closing of the immigration station, in an attempt to meet the political demands of the "war for democracy," Congress repealed the exclusion acts of 1943 and assigned an annual token immigration quota of 105 to the Chinese. Chinese arrivals, however, were still detained to determine the validity of their applications for admission. As for their detention quarters, after being relocated to Sharp Park in the spring of 1942, they were moved in 1944 into the Appraiser's Building at 630 Sansome Street near San Francisco's waterfront.²⁵ The practice of detaining Chinese to determine their eligibility for admission was finally discontinued in 1952 when consular officials at the port of embarkation assumed that responsibility.

For thirty years, however, it was the detainees at Angel Island Immigration Station who sampled the full flavor and effect of the exclusion laws.²⁶ When a ship arrived at San Francisco, immigration officials climbed aboard and inspected the passengers' documents. Those with satisfactory papers could go ashore, and the remainder were transferred to a small steamer and ferried to the island immigration station where they were to await hearings on their applications for entry. In prac-

Immigrants passed endless hours anxiously waiting for their hearings.

tice, most of the detainees were Chinese, although sometimes a few whites and other Asians were also held. Before the 1920's the number included Japanese "picture brides."²⁷

When the ferry docked at Angel Island whites were separated from other races, and Chinese were kept apart from Japanese and other Asians. Men and women, including husbands and wives, were separated and not allowed to see or communicate with each other again until they were admitted to the country. Minor children under age twelve or so were assigned to the care of their mothers. Most of the Chinese immigrants, however, were males in their teens or early twenties.

Soon after arrival, the would-be immigrants were taken to the hospital for medical examinations. Because of poor health conditions in rural China, some immigrants were afflicted with parasitic diseases. These cases became major points of contention, because the U.S. government classified certain of these ailments as loathsome and dangerously contagious and sought to use them as grounds for denial of admission. Arrivals with trachoma were excluded in 1903. In 1910 government officials added to the list uncinariasis or hookworm and filariasis and in 1917 clonorchiasis or liver fluke. Because these regulations affected primarily the Chinese, they seemed to many to be more artificial barriers erected to block their entry. Considerable protests by Chinatown leaders eventually resulted in some cases being allowed to stay for medical treatment.²⁸

Chinese who passed the medical hurdle were returned to their dormitories to await hearings on their applications. Men and women lived in separate communal rooms provided with rows of single bunks arranged in two or three tiers. Furnishings were spartan in nature, and privacy was minimal. Men were kept on the second floor of the detention barracks, which was surrounded by a fence to prevent escapes. Women, originally to be detained in the same building, were moved to the second story of the administration building in the 1920's.²⁹



At any one time about 200 to 300 males and 30 to 50 females were detained at Angel Island. Most were new arrivals, but some were returning residents whose documents were considered questionable. Also habiting the island were earlier arrivals whose applications had been denied and who were waiting either decisions on their appeal or orders for their departure. Mixed among the detainees were Chinese who had been arrested and sentenced to be deported,³⁰ as well as transients en route between China and countries neighboring the U.S., especially Mexico and Cuba.³¹

Guards sat outside the dormitories' locked doors, and the Chinese were usually left alone. One Chinese matron, Ah Tai, was available at the women's dormitory to answer to their needs.³² To forestall the passing of coaching information prior to the detainees' oral examination, no inmate could receive visitors from the outside before his case had been judged. Authorities routinely opened and scrutinized letters and gift packages to and from detainees, inspecting them for possible coaching messages.

Sanitary conditions in the dormitories were barely adequate for the thrown-together transient population of strangers from all walks of life. Moreover, janitorial services were limited. Ten months after the station's opening, the acting commissioner was already criticizing the filthy conditions of the facilities. Fourteen years later, circumstances had not improved, for in 1924 the Chinese Benevolent Association bitterly complained to President Calvin Coolidge and Secretary of Labor J. J. Davis about the unhealthy conditions on the island which had allegedly caused several detainees to sicken and die. As late as 1932, the Angel Island Liberty Association, a detainees' organization (see below), was forced to negotiate with the authorities to provide soap and toilet tissue for the detainees.³³

Deprived of organized activities within the dormitories,³⁴ many immigrants lolled about or laid on their bunks, most of the time worrying about their future. Some passed the time gambling, but stakes were usually small because the inmates had little pocket money. The literate read Chinese newspapers sent from San Francisco and their own books or those left behind by others. By the late 1920's or early 1930's a phonograph and Chinese opera records were also available for the detainees' amusement. Women sometimes sewed or knitted.

Separate small, fenced, outdoor recreation yards were provided for the men and women so they could breathe fresh air and enjoy sunshine. Once a week they were escorted to the storehouse at the dock where they could select needed items from their baggage. In addition, women and children were sometimes allowed to walk on the grounds in a supervised group, a privilege which was denied to the men.

Somewhat infrequently the detainees received visits from various clergymen of Chinatown's Protestant missions, but, understandably, few were converted to Christianity. During the early 1920's the Chinese YMCA also made regular trips to the island to show movies

When permitted to visit the station, Miss Maurer taught women detainees English.



and teach English.³⁵ The most regular visitor, however, was Deaconess Katherine Maurer (1881-1962), appointed in 1912 by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church to do Chinese welfare work at the immigration station. Her work was also supported by funds and gifts from the Daughters of the American Revolution. The deaconess, who became known as the "Angel of Angel Island," helped detainees to write letters, taught English, and performed other small services, primarily for the women and children, to make detention somewhat more bearable.³⁶ Neither she nor other visitors, however, could change the basic conditions created by the discriminatory exclusion laws.

The Chinese held at Angel Island resented their long confinements, particularly because they knew that immigrants from other countries were processed and released within a short time. Their disgruntled feelings were fueled by the enforced idleness and accentuated by unsatisfactory conditions at the station. Unable to change their plight, they frequently petitioned the CCBA, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and the Chinese consul

general for help. The first petition charging mistreatment was sent only a few days after the station opened in 1910.³⁷

Sometimes these letters produced serious consequences beyond the expectations of the senders. For example, in 1916 the Chinese consul general in San Francisco, Xu Shangting, responded to detainees' complaints and enlisted the help of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to investigate conditions at Angel Island. The commissioner general of immigration became irate at the consul general for bypassing diplomatic channels and had him declared *persona non grata* in the United States. Xu was transferred to another post in Panama.³⁸

The detainees' major complaint, especially during the early years, was the quality of their food.³⁹ The concession for providing meals was awarded to private firms based on competitive bids. In 1910, the first contractors, Fong Wing (Kuang Zhujing) and his white partner, appeared to have provided adequate services.⁴⁰ However, they lost the contract in 1911 to a white firm which bid 12¢ to their 14¢ per meal, and shortly afterward complaints were heard about poor food. In 1913 a protest by the Chinese consul general forced the island officials to promise changes, but evidently no effective action was undertaken: in 1916 the average cost per meal had dropped to only 8¢.⁴¹

Within the station, impatient and hot-headed young immigrants often took matters into their own hands and staged disturbances in the dining hall (located in the administration building) to protest the poor food and mistreatment. Such disorders were only rarely reported by the press, but enough of them evidently occurred to cause the immigration officials to post a sign in Chinese warning diners not to make trouble nor to spill food on the floor. In 1919, a large riot broke out, and troops had to be called in to restore order. A year later authorities in Washington, D.C. finally decided to improve the situation, and fuller menus were instituted.⁴²

After this move, complaints about the food subsided,

although two more dining hall disturbances occurred in 1925, the one on June 30 again requiring troops with fixed bayonets to be called in from Fort MacDowell. On these two occasions, however, the food itself apparently was not the primary cause.⁴³ The frequency of these outbreaks, whatever their cause, indicates that the resentment harbored among the detainees could easily explode when sparked by a suitable issue.

In later years, the food appeared to be nutritionally adequate although hardly comparable to home-cooked meals. Many immigrants later recalled the meals at the station with distaste, but the unfriendly attitude toward Chinese at the station and anxiety about the future were probably also important factors inducing these negative reactions.

For their mutual aid and to maintain order, male detainees formed in 1922 an organization called the Zizhihui (Self-governing Association), whose Anglicized name, ironically, was Angel Island Liberty Association. The concept appeared to have evolved from the custom in the early years of speaking with a collective voice when asking for help or expressing grievances. Its formation was promoted by politically progressive detainees, and the women did not have a corresponding organization. Officers were usually elected from the people who had been detained the longest, particularly those whose cases were on appeal, and at times respected intellectuals were also selected.⁴⁴

The scope of the association's activities during any particular period depended on the nature of the current detainee population as well as the organizing and leadership abilities of the officers. When new immigrants arrived, the association would often hold a mass meeting to enroll them as members, to explain the rules of conduct at the immigration station, and perhaps to collect

Coaching messages such as this confiscated document outlined pertinent details about home and family upon which Chinese applicants would be cross-examined.

some money for its treasury. With its meager funds the association bought records, books, and recreational equipment for the detainees' amusement. If talented individuals were available and willing, the association would schedule weekly skits, operas, or musical concerts for diversion in the evenings. At times classes were organized for the children,⁴⁵ and occasionally officers succeeded in curtailing gambling in the dormitory.

Letters to and from the detainees were often handled by the officers of the group. If immigrants had complaints or requests, the association's spokesman, who usually knew some English, negotiated with the authorities. The association's officers also acted as liaison between the government officials and the inmates.⁴⁶

The association also served as a link in a communication system between the detainees and the San Francisco Chinese community. Most of these activities concerned coaching messages addressed to individual detainees,⁴⁷ and communications in the reverse direction were sometimes accomplished.

The communications system depended upon the co-operation of Chinese employees at the station. The largely Chinese kitchen help would visit San Francisco's Chinatown on their days off. There they picked up coaching messages at certain stores, which they smuggled into the station for small fees. Various methods were then used to deliver the messages from the kitchen to the intended recipient. Most often they were passed at meal-times to the table closest to the kitchen where the association's officers sat. A waiter, for example, would serve an added dish of food and say *ga choy* (Cantonese for "added dish") or some similar phrase. This would be a signal to look for a hidden message which another could later deliver to the addressee. The association's officers also had a mutual understanding that if a guard were to detect the presence of a message, they would prevent its confiscation so that it could not be used as material evidence to jeopardize someone's entry to the country.

至財知之現今使快睡生到種蘭及池之岸然而未上園世之工不合
話做萬如泰之生是七個月面宿。是以不合的。所以不得地。要他生喜一
年之外合的。他光緒廿三年正月生之意。為於廿五年正月面宿。是於七個月
之外。難升榮。我前六月廿六日男有口舌生上心標而。未知有得何者。
若得此必年此楊儀。料此年生的外工。故現今復得。即合口工。或再假
重。求說國天命。得諸人再而地。或可上上得未定。隨之人力而為。訪光緒
廿四年十月假萬如泰之意。共做一年零七個月面宿。或而四老而汝
前日機光緒廿五年十月假生之意。共做七個月面宿。汝答曰。此李林林機。
我話廿年十月生之意。共做一年零七個月之話。或他德善北機者。
照此法。或可上得後也。萬如泰之生之意。今是走李銀時元。共十
四份。李功耀着的。李田才着的。李林機着的。李杜身着的。李杜永
着的。朱郭着。李公佑着的。李相波着的。李受着的。李福先着。
加。李煥先着。李作着。李林着的。李侯着的。司事人李功耀打
理銀月。李好生誦費兒。李杜老生誦得學格。李棠生誦費兒。此外
李功耀上頭時。得件上。此位。我相謝李功耀之生之外。則面宿與未回
有。我暗知。此話光緒廿二年正月入份。若得萬如和。汝着。你子。你
為。此事。着。股份。引。李錫之。着。股份。引。李。着。你。子。引。

In 1928 one such incident made newspaper headlines. A matron escorting the Chinese women into the dining room saw a girl pick up a folded piece of paper which had been dropped by one of the men filing out of the dining room. Suspecting it to be a coaching message, she snatched the paper from the girl, but the men quickly turned, seized the matron, and destroyed the physical evidence.⁴⁸

The Chinese association enjoyed the support of the detainees because it filled a need and fostered a sense of unity among the disparate individuals sharing only one common goal—entering the United States—who were thrown together thousands of miles from their native China. This explains why, despite the one-way traffic (most Chinese went through the station only once) and highly transient population in the dormitory, the association was able to maintain itself for three decades until 1952 or so when Chinese arrivals were no longer detained *en masse* for hearings.

Regardless of the validity of their claims for entry, Chinese arrivals expected to be interrogated intensively.

The immigrant's hearing on his application for admission was the main reason for his detainment at the Angel Island barracks, and sometime after he arrived, he received a summons to appear for this session. During the early years at the center this waiting period could stretch into months, which became the cause of many complaints.⁴⁹ By the mid-1920's, however, the delay averaged about two or three weeks. The immigrant's success in hurdling the hearing barrier determined whether the applicant would be admitted to the U.S. or face deportation back to China, and thus it was an important event which could shape the direction of one's entire life.

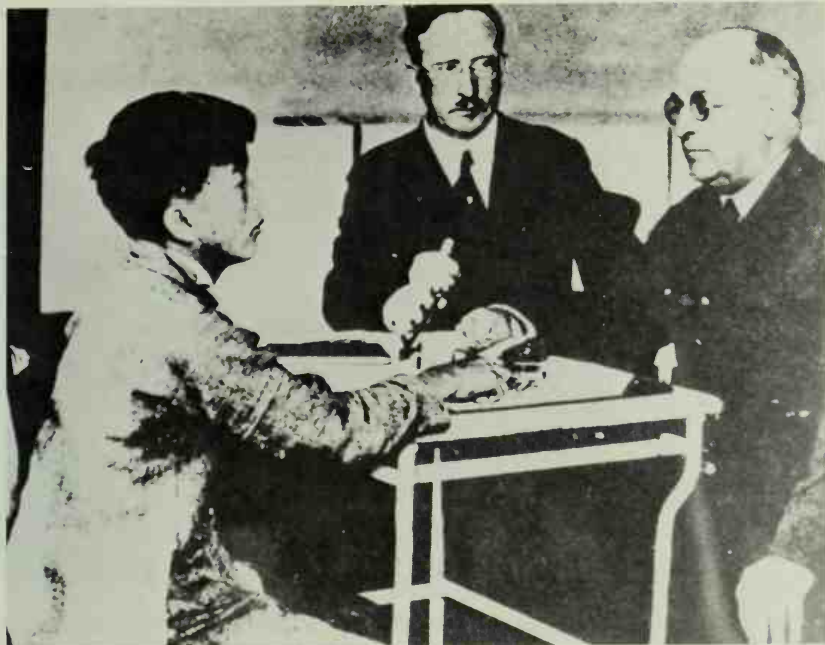
Regardless of the validity of the Chinese arrival's claim for entry, he expected to be interrogated intensively, and in anticipation, the applicant studied coaching information during the weeks and months preceding his transpacific voyage so as to commit to memory facts pertinent to his family, home life, and native village. The required information was often extremely detailed, and the coaching papers might be a booklet with several dozen pages. This was particularly true in cases where the applicant and his witnesses claimed relationships which were fictitious. Coaching papers were frequently taken aboard ship for review and thrown overboard or destroyed as the ship approached the American harbor.

During the early years, the conduct and procedure for examining applicants and witnesses produced numerous complaints of unfairness from the Chinese, but in 1919 the procedure was changed, and the new boards of special inquiry for Chinese cases put them on the

same footing as other aliens. The resulting board of special inquiry was made up of two inspectors, one of whom was the chairman who asked most of the questions, plus a stenographer. This board was not bound by technical rules of procedure or evidence as applied by courts. The purpose of the hearing was to determine if the applicant was entitled to enter the United States under the exclusion acts and general immigration laws.⁵⁰

Many Chinese entered the country as members of the exempt classes, but by far the greater number applied for entry by claiming citizenship by birth or by derivation.⁵¹ Because the majority of Chinese cases involved issues of relationship or American birth and because independent evidence and documents usually did not exist to corroborate or disprove the claims, the scope and method of examination for Chinese cases were different from that applied to other nationalities of immigrants. Evidence was often confined to the testimony offered by the applicant and his witnesses, and the objective of the board was to ascertain the validity of this evidence by cross-examination and comparison of testimony on every matter which might reasonably tend to show whether or not the claim was valid.⁵² Under these guidelines the board of inquiry had great latitude in pursuing its interrogation.

Some inspectors were strict but fair; others delighted in matching wits with the interrogee; still others were thorough and meticulous. The type of question asked often depended on the case and the chairman's individual style. Over the years, one of the persistent complaints of the Chinese were questions of minute details which apparently had no relevance to the objectives of the board.⁵³ Some questions would have been difficult for anyone to answer even under normal circumstances: How many times a year were letters received from a person's father? How did a person's father send the money to travel to the U.S.? How many steps were there at the front door of a person's house? Who lived in the third house in the second row of houses in the



Each Chinese applicant was required to prove his acceptability to immigration officials in grueling interrogation sessions.

village? Of what material was the flooring in the bedroom of a person's house? What was the location of the kitchen rice bin?

Because Chinese immigrants usually did not understand English and the inspectors did not speak fluent Chinese, an interpreter was needed at the hearing proceedings. In order to forestall collusion between the applicant and witnesses, a different interpreter was used for each session. At the end of each session the board chairman would usually ask the interpreter to identify the dialect in which the answers were being made in order to ascertain whether the applicant and witnesses alleged to be members of the same family were speaking the same dialect.

Sometimes applicants and witnesses were recalled and reinterrogated about questionable points. A typical proceeding usually lasted two or three days. During these interrogations, memories might fail, wrong answers might be given, and unforeseen questions might be asked. Hence it was often necessary to smuggle coaching information into the detention quarters to eliminate inconsistencies in answers.

If the testimony of the applicant largely corroborated that of the witnesses, the authorities admitted him into the country. If an unfavorable decision was handed down, the applicant's family had the choice of allowing

him to be deported to China or of appealing to higher authorities in Washington, D.C. or to the courts to reverse the judgment.⁵⁴ As a result some immigrants languished under detention on Angel Island for as long as two years before their cases were finally decided.

Most of the debarred swallowed their disappointment and stolidly awaited their fate. Some, it was said, committed suicide, although such occurrences appeared to be rare, and little information appeared in the newspapers and public documents.⁵⁵ Some disappointed applicants vented their frustrations and mental anguish by writing or carving Chinese poems on the detention center's walls as they waited for the results of appeals or orders for their deportation. Today, many of the carvings which literally covered the quarters' walls are still legible under layers of paint applied in the intervening years.⁵⁶

Usually undated and anonymous, most of this poetry was written before the 1930's. Practically all the poems are in the classical style made famous during China's Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). Recurrent through many of the works are feelings of disillusion, resentment, and bitterness about the treatment received at Angel Island.

This place is called an island of immortals
But as a matter of fact the mountain wilderness is a prison.
The bird plunges in even though it sees the open net.
Because of poverty, one can do naught else.

*"This place is called
an island of immortals
but . . . the mountain wilderness
is a prison."*

Others expressed anger:

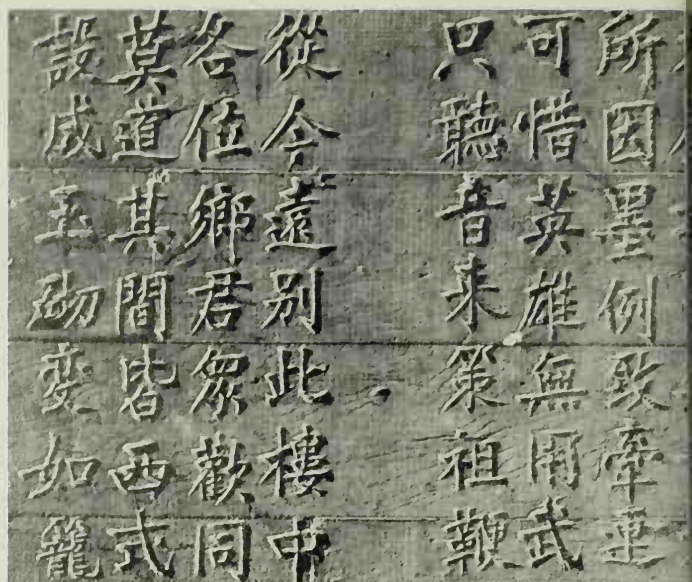
The small building with three beams is just sufficient to
shelter the body.
It is unbearable to tell accumulated stories on these island
slopes.
Wait till the day I become successful and fulfill my wish!
I will not be sparing and will level the customs station.⁵⁷

Still other poems worried about families left behind in
China and of the uncertain future:

Why do I have to sit in jail?
It is only because my country is weak and my family is
poor.
My parents wait at the door in vain for news.
My wife and child wrap themselves in their quilt, sighing
with loneliness.
Even should I be allowed to enter this country,
When can I make enough to return to China with wealth?
Since the ancient days, most of those who leave home
become worthless.
Heretofore how many had ever returned from wars?

Few other documents from the Angel Island Immigration
Station express more eloquently and intensely the
feelings and sentiments of the Chinese immigrants of
that era.

Angel Island had been called the Ellis Island of the
West. For thousands of immigrants from countries



rimming the Pacific Basin, it was the portal to the "land
of opportunity." Unlike its famed sister station on the
Atlantic coast, however, Angel Island did not extend
welcoming hands to all who came, for it was built
primarily to facilitate administration of the Chinese ex-
clusion laws. To Chinese arrivals it was a half-open door
at best, a prominent symbol of a racist immigration
policy.

Angel Island station was established during a period of
virulent anti-Chinese prejudices, attitudes reflected in
the official stance of the immigration service that Chi-
nese immigrants were undesirable. Immigration authori-
ties attempted to carry out this policy to its fullest
measure by draconian execution of the exclusion laws.
Sustained resistance by the Chinese community and their
sympathizers in the larger society, however, eventually
resulted in many harsh regulations and practices being
modified or rescinded, and Chinese arrivals gradually
were treated with greater regard to due process of law.
By the late 1930's the number of Chinese rejections for
entry had dropped below 5 percent,⁵⁸ although the
ordeal of detentions and hearings continued.

Although it is undeniable that many Chinese entered
the U.S. with fraudulent credentials and thus technically
violated the immigration laws, this practice was made
necessary by unjust and discriminatory laws. It is also
true that applicants with valid claims were denied entry
because they could not properly convince hostile boards
of inquiry. Their experiences on Angel Island and under

Anonymous detainees carved poems on the detention center's walls while awaiting decisions on their cases.

the American exclusion laws laid the groundwork for the behavior and attitudes of an entire generation of Chinese Americans. Unpleasant memories as well as shaky legal status led many Chinese to regard immigration officers as objects to avoid and fear. The insensitive attitude of the authorities toward Chinese immigrants only reinforced these sentiments. Moreover, the feeling among Chinese that they were allowed in this country only on sufferance of the dominant white majority helped to foster alienation and non-involvement in the larger society. Racism indeed had exacted a high price.

Today, immigration laws no longer blatantly discriminate against specific racial groups. But the lonely hulk of the Angel Island detention building, with its walls covered with carvings expressing the hopes and heartbreaks of nameless Chinese immigrants, stands as a stark reminder that not so very long ago the nation's immigration policy was based on the premise that some racial groups were preferred to others in the United States.⁵⁹

The photographs on pages 94 and 99 are from the National Archives; on page 95, courtesy Mrs. Everett C. Schneider; and on page 91, the CHS Library. The photograph on page 90 is reproduced from *Chinese World*, January 22, 1910; those on page 92, from Report of the Commissioner of Immigration for 1907 and 1912. The coaching message is from Senate, Report 776, "Chinese Exclusion," 57 Congress, 1 Session, 1904, and the poems are courtesy Mak Takahashi.

Notes

1. See map by A. L. Kroeber, "Native Tribes, Groups, Language, Families and Dialects of California in 1770," in R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, *The California Indians, A Source Book* (Berkeley, 1971). Angel Island is part of Marin County, which was the home of the Miwoks. M. B. Hoover, H. E. and E. G. Rensch (revised by W. N. Abeloe), *Historic Spots in California*, 3rd Edition (Stanford, 1966), p. 348.
2. In their writings Chinese often used the name *Tianshi Dao*, a direct translation of Angel Island. In other instances transliterations of various Cantonese dialects were used, such as *Yin-jou Ai-lan* or *Eng-ji Ai-lun*.
3. T. W. Chinn, H. M. Lai, P. P. Choy, *A History of the Chinese in California* (San Francisco, 1969), p. 26.
4. D. L. McKee: *Chinese Exclusion Versus the Open Door Policy, 1900-1906* (Detroit, 1977), p. 29. The 1882 act was amended in 1884. Two laws were passed in 1888 restricting reentry of laborers. The 1882 act was extended in 1892 and again in 1902. In 1904 exclusion of laborers was extended indefinitely. Exclusion was also extended to U.S. possessions.
5. U.S. Congress, House, Document No. 847, *Compilations from the Records of the Bureau of Immigration of Facts Concerning the Enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Laws* (1906), pp. 13, 9.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 6.
7. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1902/1903, p. 107; 1904/1905, p. 98.
8. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1904/1905, p. 81; *Chinese World*, May 2, 1910. CCBA Petition to Prince Zai Tao, who was in the U.S. to study military conditions.
9. McKee, *Chinese Exclusion*, 192.
10. U.S. Congress, Senate, Report No. 776, *Chinese Exclusion*, 57 Congress, 1 Session, 1904, p. 313; Ira M. Condit, *The Chinaman as We See Him and Fifty Years of Work for Him* (New York, 1900), pp. 86-7.
11. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1909/1910, p. 132; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1902.
12. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1902/1903, p. 63.
13. Section III, "Historical American Building Survey," in *Recommendations for the Historical Recreational Development of Angel Island*, prepared by Marshall McDonald and Associates for the Division of Beaches and Parks, State of California (1966); U.S. Congress, House, Report No. 4640, *Immigration Station on Angel Island, Cal.*, 59 Congress, 1 Session, 1906; *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 18, 1907.
14. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1908/1909, p. 144.
15. File No. 52961-26B, Record Set 85, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Nov. 12, 1909.
16. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Nov. 30, 1909.
17. *Chinese World*, Jan. 22, 1910; *San Francisco Chronicle*, Jan. 23, 1910.
18. *Chinese World*, April 5, 1910. The CCBA, also known as the Chinese Six Companies, was at the time considered the spokesman for the Chinese community in America.
19. Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1909/1910, p. 133.
20. *Chinese World*, May 2, June 9, March 1, 1910.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 28, 1910.
22. U.S. Congress, House, Document No. 209, *Report on House Resolution 225*.
23. Luther C. Steward, Acting Commissioner, San Francisco, to commissioner general, Dec. 19, 1910, Record Set 85, National

- Archives; *Chinese World*, Nov. 17, 1913; *San Francisco Chronicle*, Aug. 8, 1920, March 14, 1922, Nov. 1, 1922.
23. For example, see *San Francisco Chronicle*, Dec. 12, 1923; Feb. 27, 1924; Oct. 10, 1927; Nov. 23, 1934; Feb. 24, 1937; Mar. 29, 1937.
 24. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Aug. 12, Nov. 7, 1940.
 25. Handwritten manuscript on Angel Island Immigrant Station stationery, n.d., anonymous.
 26. Information on the life of Chinese immigrants in the detention quarters was pieced together from interviews with thirty-five people who were on the island, including two interpreters, two inspectors, and a kitchen helper as well as male and female detainees whose experience spanned the entire period the immigration station was active.
 27. *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1919/1920*, p. 370. It should be noted that the station was not used solely for immigrants. It was used during World War I to intern enemy alien seamen, and until 1925, it also used to hold federal prisoners. The immigration commissioner ordered all prisoners off the island when some of them attempted to escape.
 28. *Chinese World*, December 15, 1910. The Chinese community of San Francisco sent Dr. King H. Kwan (Guan Qiangting) of China as their representative to Washington, D.C. He succeeded in convincing the Department of Commerce and Labor that filariasis was not a dangerous contagious disease and that patients should be allowed to stay in the U.S. for medical treatment. *Chinese World*, Jan. 30, 1922. The Chinese community fought the liver fluke regulation all through the 1920's. In 1927, Dr. Fred Lam (Lin Ronggui) of Honolulu, delegated by the Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Honolulu and San Francisco to go to Washington, D.C., successfully proved to public health officials that clonorchiasis or liver fluke was not contagious in the U.S., and the regulation was amended accordingly.
 29. Dorene Askin, *Historical Report, Angel Island Immigration Station* (draft), June 3, 1977, p. 5.
 30. Most of the deportees were arrested for fraudulent entry or for committing crimes. A few were deported for political reasons. Xavier Dea (Xie Cang), a radical leader of the Chinese Unemployed Council in San Francisco, was deported during the early 1930's to the USSR. *Chinese World*, May 16, 1931.
 31. H. D. Evey, *Chinese Exclusion Laws and Immigration Laws as Applied to Chinese*, Second series, Lecture No. 32, Pt. 1, Jan. 21, 1935. Some poems in the detention barracks were written by Chinese going to Mexico or Cuba.
- Chinese laborers in transit were admitted if they posted bonds. This was not required if they transferred from one vessel to another vessel in a U.S. port, and some of these evidently were detained on Angel Island. One interviewee who arrived at Angel Island from China in 1929 met his uncle who was on his way to China from Cuba. He was detained on the island awaiting the ship's arrival.
- Many deportees from neighboring countries were also detained on Angel Island while waiting for a ship to China. During the period of anti-Chinese agitation in Mexico in the early 1930's, many Chinese surrendered to U.S. authorities and were deported via San Francisco.
32. Ah Tai was hired from Cameron House, maintained by the Chinese Presbyterian Mission in San Francisco as a home for orphaned girls and girls from broken families and in trouble, in 1910. *Chinese World*, Feb. 22, 1910.
 33. Steward to commissioner general, Dec. 19, 1910; *Chinese World*, Mar. 17, 1924, Dec. 3, 1932.
 34. *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1922/1923*, p. 30.
 35. For example, *Chung Sai Yat Po* reported on visits by the Chinese YMCA in the following issues: May 13, June 24, July 21, Aug. 4, Oct. 1, Oct. 15, Oct. 17, Oct. 29, 1925; Aug. 26, 1926. The visits appeared to have ceased by the 1930's.
 36. Kuan Yin, *Goddess of Mercy on Angel Island* (Cincinnati, 1939?); *Daughters of the American Revolution, Angel Island* (1929).
 37. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Jan. 27, 1910.
 38. *Chinese World*, Feb. 17, Mar. 1, Sept. 26, 1916.
 39. The responsibility for feeding the detainees was borne by the steamship company until island officials ruled on eligibility for admission. Subsequent to that date, the cost fell on the shoulders of the applicant or his sponsor. *Chinese World*, Jan. 25, 1911.
 40. According to the *Chinese World*, Feb. 28, 1910, the menu was as follows: BREAKFAST—Tea, rice, pork with white greens, winter melon, dried lily flowers, Chinese cabbage, mustard greens, or dried bean sticks, plus one small dish. LUNCH—Congee with pork and dried shrimps, congee with beef and dried white greens, sweet congee with green beans, sweet congee with red beans, coffee and bread, or sweet tapioca soup. DINNER—Tea, rice, beef cooked with cabbage, dried bamboo shoot, potatoes, or turnips. Fresh fish or bean vermicelli with dried shrimp on Friday; plus one small dish. The small dish could be salt fish, preserved olive, fermented bean curd, sweet pickles or plum sauce.
 41. *Chinese World*, Feb. 26, 1911; May 13, 1911; Sept. 6, 1913; Mar. 1, 1916.
 42. Mary Bamford, *Angel Island, The Ellis Island of the West* (Chicago, 1917), p. 15; *Chinese World*, Jan. 15, 1919; Mar. 19, 1920. The new menu was as follows: BREAKFAST—Tea and rice with following dishes: Pork with preserved stem cabbage, greens (Mon.); pork and mustard greens soup, fermented bean curd (Tues.); pork with greens, salt fish (Wed.); pork with dried bean sticks, plum sauce (Thurs.); pork and winter melon soup, bean curd with soy sauce (Fri.); beef steamed with sweet

- pickles, greens (Sat.); bean vermicelli with pork, fermented bean paste (Sun.). LUNCH—Biscuits, bread, and tea with the following: Pork congee (Mon.); sweet tapioca soup (Tues., Thurs., Sat.); pork and fish congee (Wed.); pork congee (Fri.); pork noodles (Sun.). DINNER—Tea, rice with following: Bean vermicelli with pork, salt fish (Mon.); fish with dried lily flowers, preserved olive with potatoes, preserved olives (Wed.); beef with bean sprouts, salt fish (Thurs.); codfish with dried lily flowers, preserved olives (Fri.); pork with white beans, preserved olives (Sat.); beef with turnips or cloud fungus, beef with onions, salt fish (Sun.).
43. In March, 1925, officials decided to let new arrivals dine first because of crowded conditions. Detainees who had been on the island for a longer time took exception to this arrangement and caused a disturbance. *Chinese World*, Mar. 27, 1925. In 1925 Chinese accused a white waiter at the dining hall of being an informer. On June 30 he served the detainees stale bread, and they attacked the waiter and guard with utensils and table settings.
 44. *Chinese World*, Aug. 24, 1923. In an interview on July 16, 1977, J. P. Wong, an old Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) member, claimed that Lin Qushen, a Kuomintang member, was the founder of the Zizhihui. So far no other corroborating evidence had been found. The Kuomintang, however, during the early part of the century, was a militant group, and the idea of the Zizhihui was a concept which would fit into the Kuomintang ideology of that period.
 45. For example, in 1932 the Chinese association started a school. *Chinese World*, Jan. 9, 1932.
 46. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 6, 1940.
 47. Gilbert Woo (Hu Jingnan); "Messengers on Angel Island (Tian-shi Dao shang ti Daixinren)" *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, Nov. 28, 1974.
 48. *San Francisco Examiner*, Mar. 20, 1928.
 49. In 1913 the Chinese consul general complained of long delays in Chinese cases. *Chinese World*, Nov. 8, 1913. In 1916 a committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce investigating conditions on Angel Island found the same situation. *Chinese World*, Mar. 1, 1916.
 50. *U.S. Immigration Service Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 12, Mar. 1, 1919. Edward L. Haff: *Boards of Special Inquiry*, 2nd Series, Lecture No. 24, Nov. 26, 1934.
 51. From July 1, 1920, until June 30, 1940, some 71,040 Chinese entered the U.S. as U.S. citizens, while aliens admitted during the same period numbered 66,039, with a large percentage being merchants and their families. Timothy J. Molloy, "A Century of Chinese Immigration: A Brief Review," *Immigration and Naturalization Service Monthly Review*, Dec., 1947, pp. 69-75. Most of the citizens in the earlier years were "native sons" but by the late 1920's, more and more sons and even grandsons of natives began to apply for admission. *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration 1927/1928*, p. 15.
 52. Haff, *Boards of Special Inquiry*.
 53. A joint investigating committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Merchant's Exchange found it "an impossibility" for any applicant to answer the inspector's questions correctly. *Chinese Defender*, Oct. 10, 1910. Another Chamber investigating committee also concluded that inspectors asked nit-picking questions. *Chinese World*, Mar. 1, 1916. One inspector from the 1930's recalled that he used to probe for information about: the applicant himself; the applicant's family; older generations related to applicant; the applicant's village; neighbors in the applicant's village; the applicant's house in the village; the village market attended by the applicant's family; the homeward journey of the applicant's father; the applicant's trip to Hong Kong.
 54. Haff, *Boards of Special Inquiry*.
 55. One of the rare incidents noted by the press was an unsuccessful suicide attempt in 1926, when a woman jumped from the building and injured her head and left leg. *Chinese World*, May 18, 1926.
At least two suicides, one successful and the other unsuccessful, were reported in 1948. By this time, the detention quarters was in the Appraisers' Building in San Francisco. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sept. 24, Oct. 27, 1948.
 56. There are more than 60 poems identified so far on the walls of the detention building. In addition two collections of poems copied by detainees Smiley Jann and Tet Yee in 1931 and 1932 respectively had come forth. The Jann and Yee collections included 92 and 93 poems each. In all there are more than 130 different poems known today.
 57. The Chinese immigrants often did not distinguish between the custom and immigration stations.
 58. *Annual Reports, Secretary of Labor* for 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940 (Washington, D.C.).
 59. In 1976, the California state legislature passed a bill allocating \$250,000 for the preservation and historical interpretation of the immigration detention building on Angel Island.

Book Reviews

Rim-Rock and Sage:

The Collected Poems of Maynard Dixon.

By Maynard Dixon. Introduction by Kevin Starr. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1977. xxxiii, 125 pp. Illustrations. \$29.95.)

Reviewed by Richard Dillon, head of the California State Library's Suto Branch in San Francisco and author of the new biography of Commodore Perry, We Have Met the Enemy.

Kevin Starr's penetrating essay in the Winter, 1977/78, *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, which was excellent, aside from its tongue-twisting, alliterative (and terrible) title, "Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter," was an expansion or, at least, an adaptation of his Introduction to *Rim-Rock and Sage*. Although some hard-headed critics will say that Starr has let his enthusiasm gallop away with him, the essay (in either form) could very easily stand alone as a small book—say, a Capra Press chapbook.

Design and execution of this limited edition, only 1300 copies, is by that viking of 'Frisko printers, Andrew Hoyem, heir-apparent to the grand Grabhorn Press tradition.

The text is enhanced by a fine frontispiece photo of the artist by his second wife, Dorothea Lange, much better-known as a photographer for her Dust Bowl social documentation than for portraiture. Eight drawings by Dixon, fittingly printed in a kind of desert terra cotta color, are scattered through the text. Six of them are on classic Southwest themes—landscapes or Indians—which might be clichés in lesser hands than Dixon's. Two are experimental, perhaps surrealist. They involve twisting human figures and remind this viewer, absurdly or not, of the possible influence of Art Deco on Dixon. After all, he was very much affected by architecture, Cubism, and even impressionism.

In any case, the proportions are reversed in the poetry. Few poems deal with Dixon's warm Southwest landscapes. Many are autobiographical, personal; some are intensely emotional, sensual.

As Starr points out, Dixon's poetry illuminates a hidden facet of his character, almost the opposite of his public viewpoint, which was largely optimistic even when he was depicting dour, mysterious Indians, or even the Depression strife of his own social documentation of the 1930's. It is obvious that the poems were as much autotherapy as creativity, *per se*. That they supplied him with a means of releasing

the terrific pressures and tensions which teetered in a fragile balance with the lightness of his soul. These private poems (few were ever published before) express the anguish and depression of a man who was easily hurt, but hated to show it.

All 164 of Dixon's known poems are here, good and bad. We would not dare run every sketch which he tossed into a wastebasket, but the editor is probably wise in using all of his verse, for it is so limited and secret, or at least unknown. Starr sees Dixon as a poet as well as a painter. True, he had a virile, Whitmanesque style, which is refreshing when compared with the bland poesy of the late teens and 1920's in the West. But his poetry never reaches the creative level of his best pictorial art, perhaps because it was a conscious release, a device. Perhaps it can be equated with his murals, his newspaper and magazine illustrations, even his field sketches. But never with the best of his easel paintings, like *Witch of Sityatki* or *Earth Knower*.

Some of his poetry is flat, mundane. Some is merely a way of recording an incident, a kind of lyrical journal-entry. A little is querulous bitching over how rough life can be. There is a lot on *amours*, both fulfilled or unrequited. Most of his poems, however, are interesting and instructive.

With Starr, we now can see why Dixon was such a poetic painter, so emotionally powerful and insightful with his brush strokes. And we are reminded that even bohemian painters live lives of quiet desperation. Without this outlet for letting off steam, Dixon might never have persevered with his real art, painting, and we would not have his interpretations of Navajo horsemen, mesas, buttes, cumulus clouds, and crumpled arroyo shadows.

Now, if someone (Starr?) would only unearth and edit his prose, published and unpublished, to provide us with a picture of the artist in even sharper definition!

The book is a *must* for anyone seriously interested in Dixon, the Southwest, or in the mystery of art and creativity.

Blacks in Gold Rush California.

By Rudolph M. Lapp. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977. xiv, 321 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Reviews Editor, California History.

Although blacks comprised only one or two percent of California's population during the 1850's, their presence was of

more significance than the numbers would indicate. The nation was moving inexorably toward civil war during the Gold Rush decade, and the future of slavery as well as the political status of blacks were major issues of the day. The presence of even a small number of blacks forced Californians to confront these issues, often with contradictory results. While California was a "free," non-slave state which remained loyal to the union, it also denied blacks (as well as Asians and Indians) most basic civil and political rights. Nowhere else did blacks have a greater chance to gain economic prosperity, but like other western states, California imposed a massive structure of legalized discrimination on its non-white residents.

Rudolph Lapp has been studying the black experience in Gold Rush California for nearly twenty years. In the 1960's he published a series of excellent articles on the subject, and it is fitting that now he has synthesized his findings in a book-length study. His work is a solid piece of narrative history. The coverage is sometimes episodic, due to a lack of sources, but the episodes are well-chosen to give insight into the human dilemmas caused by Gold Rush race relations.

Two clear themes emerge from Lapp's factual story. First, California's black population was active and adamant in its attempt to gain equal treatment under the law. Conferences, petitions, legal actions, and direct protests were used to fight discrimination and advocate equality. Second, white allies were often crucial in achieving what victories were won against the prevailing racism.

For Lapp, the climax of the story is the 1858 migration of a significant portion of the state's black population to British Columbia in hopes of finding greater freedom and opportunity. However, I would argue that a more fitting climax was the rapid disappearance of most discriminatory legislation applying to blacks after the Civil War. Lapp mentions this substantial victory over *de jure* racism, but he does not analyze it fully because of his focus on the Gold Rush decade of the 1850's. In fact, many of the political and social struggles of the 1850's culminated in the period following the Civil War, and the book would have been improved if Lapp had extended his detailed coverage through the mid-1870's.

Nevertheless, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* is a significant contribution to the understanding of California social history. It documents the brave efforts of Gold Rush blacks to gain civil respect and dignity and thus illuminates a quest for social justice that is an important part of this state's heritage.

Conquer and Colonize: Stevenson's Regiment and California.

By Donald C. Biggs. (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977. 263 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, Department of History, Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill.

Shortly after Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States and Mexico, President Polk authorized formation of a regiment of volunteers for special duty in California. Jonathan D. Stevenson, a Democrat and former member of the New York legislature, was selected as leader of the regiment and instructed to recruit only persons of "good habits" and "various pursuits" who would be likely to remain on the Pacific coast at the end of the war. The object of the regiment quite clearly was colonization; its creation reveals that at the outset of the Mexican War the Polk administration was determined on the permanent conquest of California.

Donald Biggs has written a thorough history of this unique regiment of American volunteers. Using original muster rolls and other primary sources, he has reconstructed the occupational and social structure of the regiment. As might be expected, the unit consisted primarily of young white males from several urban centers in New York. Included in its ranks were tinsmiths, printers, butchers, bakers, lawyers, tailors, merchants, and even an umbrella maker and perfumer. The motives of the volunteers, Biggs concludes, were a mixture of patriotism and self-interest. Some saw in their actions a working out of Divine Providence and Manifest Destiny, while others were intent on new opportunities to practice their trades.

The regiment, which eventually numbered over 800 men, arrived in California in March, 1847, and was deployed as an army of occupation. Biggs argues that historians have ignored the military aspect of the regiment's activities. He points out that two companies of the regiment saw "considerable action" in Baja California, that members of the regiment pursued horse-stealing Indians, and that as a whole the unit "presented a visible remainder to the Californians that the territory was occupied." The fact remains, however, that Stevenson's regiment arrived in Alta California nearly two months *after* the Capitulation at Cahuenga. Although their presence may have deterred further resistance, there

Contemporary cartoons poked fun at the fortune hunters and crooks who joined Stevenson's California Regiment. CHS Library.



ONE OF THE CALIFORNIAN BO HOYS TAKING LEAVE OF HIS GAL.

were no armed clashes between Stevenson's men and the Californians. On the contrary, as Biggs concedes, the volunteers were feted with "parties, balls, and fandangos almost every evening" while garrisoned at Los Angeles.

Biggs also argues that historians have underestimated the positive contributions of the regiment to California history. While avoiding the adulatory stance of Francis D. Clark, self-appointed regimental historian who published a history in 1882, Biggs makes a strong case in defense of the volunteers. Out of their ranks came businessmen, attorneys, journalists, and public officials who were prominent in California affairs for decades. The San Francisco Legislative Assembly was "almost exclusively an operation of former New York Volunteers," and seven of the forty-eight delegates at the 1849 constitutional convention were former volunteers.

The tarnished reputation of the regiment comes largely from its members' association with a band of San Francisco ruffians known as the Hounds. Biggs minimizes the importance of this association and reminds us that the group organized to suppress the Hounds also included former volunteers. He charges that Soule and Bancroft, and subsequent historians who have relied on them as sources, have unfairly emphasized the involvement of Stevenson's men with the Hounds. While Biggs does well to try to balance the record

on the regiment, his conclusion that "the myth of the Hounds sprang full-blown from the head of the journalist Frank Soule" is unconvincing.

The text provides a running commentary on the accuracy of contemporary observers and later historians, and the bibliographical essay should serve as an indispensable guide for anyone wishing to pursue the subject further. Although the writing is generally clear and straightforward, a more careful editing of the book would have eliminated several ambiguous sentences and consolidated a number of chapters.

A Yankee in Mexican California: Abel Stearns, 1798-1848.

By Doris Marion Wright. (Santa Barbara: Wallace Heberd, 1977. 177 pp. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by Jack Mason, author of Point Reyes—The Solemn Land and several other Marin County histories.

Was Abel Stearns an opportunist who put his own fortunes ahead of his country's? Or a far-seeing pioneer deserving of more attention than Californians generally accord him? Naturally, the latter, or Ms. Wright's book would hardly have been worth the trouble.

Stearns came from Massachusetts in 1826, to Mexico first, then three years later to Monterey. By dint of Yankee gall, he became Southern California's leading trader in hides and liquors, with his personal port of entry at San Pedro. Eventually he was the biggest land and cattle owner in the South.

Abel's quarrels with the Mexican establishment are legendary. That he was a dealer in contraband is so obvious even Miss Wright accepts it as fact, although she is quick to apologize for him: "Smuggling was an old California custom . . . almost universal in colonial America. In simplest terms, it was a reaction to unwise legislation."

The governors resented Stearns, and two of them, Victoria and Chico, banished him. Not that anybody could keep the irrepressible Yankee down for long.

During the critical period before the American takeover, Stearns was eyes and ears at Los Angeles for Thomas Larkin—not as a "sub-confidential agent of the U.S.," as Bancroft says he was, but as a "confidential correspondent, which is quite another matter," as Ms. Wright points out.

Her chapter "Vulnerable California" is a good summing up of the uncertainties of the period, and she handles the principal players well: Governor Micheltorena, fastidious and vacillating; Commodore Jones, whose premature arrival at Los Angeles in 1843 spilled the beans concerning U.S. intentions towards California; and others including Antonio Osio, John Forster, Alexander Forbes, and David Spence.

In June of 1841, Stearns married fourteen-year-old Arcadia Bandini, "the most beautiful woman in California," and moved her into the pueblo's handsomest house. Whether he loved her, or was after her money, isn't clear. Miss Wright agrees with Bancroft, however, that the union prospered. On one other point she and Bancroft have no quarrel. Don Abel was ugly as sin.

Miss Wright is immoderately faithful to her sources, primarily the Stearns papers at the Huntington Library. Seemingly every statement is attributed. There are thirteen pages of bibliography. The portrait of Stearns suffers in consequence. Under such a load of erudition, he never comes quite alive.

The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instruments of Bourbon Reform, 1764-1815.

By Janet R. Fireman. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977. 250 pp. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$16.95.)

Reviewed by Theodore E. Treutlein, Professor Emeritus of History, San Francisco State University.

When one thinks of the considerable amount of writing which over the years has concerned itself with the Spanish borderlands, it seems somewhat surprising that the author of the work under review can correctly claim that "until now, nothing whatsoever has been published bearing directly on the subject," i.e., the work of the Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the borderlands (Preface, p. 21). Yet the claim seems justified. Author Fireman acknowledges especial indebtedness to Professor Donald C. Cutter who encouraged her expressed interest in the Corps. Thus, self-motivated and with expert encouragement, she carried through an enormous labor of fundamental research in archives in Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

The Corps came into existence in April, 1711, when the Crown approved a suggestion by the Marqués de Verboom, a Flemish nobleman, but the author points out in Chapter 1, "Organization of the Corps," that the Corps became "truly significant" on the northern frontier only after the Seven Years' War. The remaining chapters bear the titles "Arrival in the Borderlands", "Reorganization of the Military Frontier," "Establishment and Defense of Upper California," "The Commandancy General of the Interior Provinces," and "Apache Warfare and the End of the Colonial Period."

Until the appearance of this work the best known engineer was Miguel Costansó, but perhaps students in borderland history now will also become acquainted with Francisco Fersén, Pablo Sánchez, Salvador Fidalgo, Alberto Cordoba, Manuel Agustín Mascaró, Juan de Papazaurtundúa, and José María Cortés de Olarte. The reviewer was particularly interested in the latter engineer's evaluation of the "Apache Question" (which emerges as one of the themes in this book). Engineer Cortés wrote an essay, "Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España" in which he presents a "modern" view that "the Spaniards were as guilty of wronging the Apaches as the Indians were guilty of hurting the Europeans." He believed that the Apaches had to be pacified but that "peace through purchase" should be substituted for relentless warfare (p. 182).

Since the borderlands came into existence through "defensive expansion" of the Spanish empire, it is interesting to learn the views of the engineers on the question of the defense of California. Briefly, they believed that the coast was too extensive to be defended and that there were too few ships, too few batteries, too few artillerymen. If corsairs "were to launch an attack with a squadron and sizable landing forces . . . the only resort of commanders of Upper California would be to retire to the interior with the inhabitants" (pp. 207-208, the Sánchez, Fidalgo, Costansó Report, 1795). This statement is almost a blueprint for what happened in later years when Bouchard appeared on the California coast, or during the famous Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones seizure of Monterey.

The author states that "it is not possible to identify or quantify with assurance the Corps' contribution to the administration of the vast northern frontier. But it is possible to weigh and measure, or at least consider, this hitherto ignored institution of the frontier" (p. 188). This, the reviewer feels, Dr. Fireman has amply accomplished.



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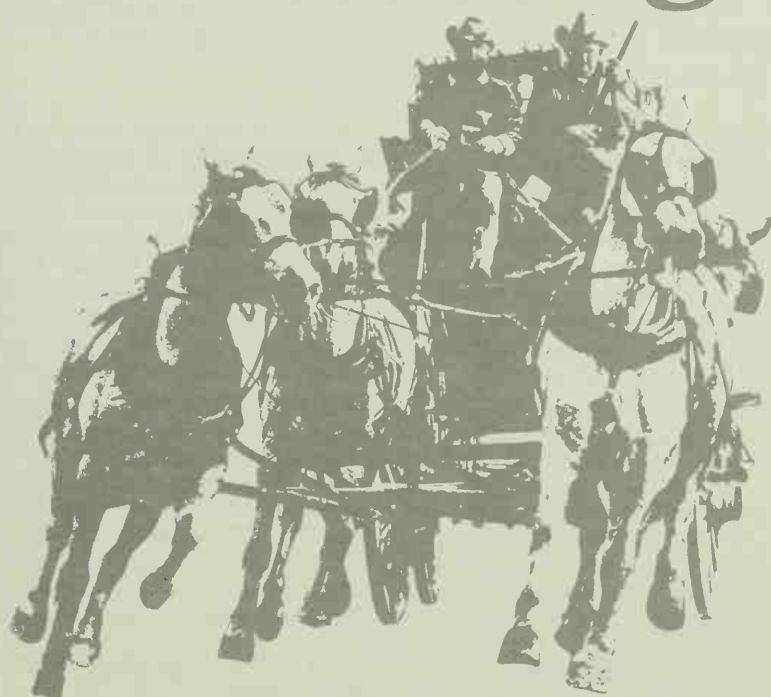
You would think it strange today for a Congressman or nobleman to become a printer. We did not. My father Henri was a nobleman who became a printer, because in 1500 printing was considered a noble art.

To amount to anything you must have a passion. I had three: printing, Latin and religion. I could think, write and talk as easily in Latin as in French, my native tongue. In my shop we talked nothing but Latin to each other. Hence you will frequently see my name in Latin as Robertus Stephanus. I was appointed King's Printer for Latin, Hebrew and Greek in 1540. I married Perette, the daughter of Badius Ascensius, a distinguished printer who was probably the first to use the picture of a printing press in his printing mark, so you see there was printer's ink in the family blood. My son, Henri II, became famous as a printer too. Our Estienne symbol was the olive tree, the fame of which has not

withered in four hundred years. ♪ Alas, my passion for perfection was my downfall. With the Royal Greek type which Claude Garamond engraved under my direction I produced a sumptuous New Testament in 1550. But because I dared to attempt improvements in its terminology, theologians were horrified, and they ran me bodily out of France, never to return. It was only after we lay molding in our graves that justice came to me. My New Testament of 1550 was accepted by the world as the traditional text, and that is recognition enough for anyone. It is pleasant, too, for me to receive this belated accolade from such skillful and celebrated typographers as Mackenzie & Harris of San Francisco!

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COVER

Obliging workmen paused amid the palatial rubble on San Francisco's California Street Hill for Eadweard Muybridge to photograph the show-place city under construction. For a look at the remarkable 8-foot-long panorama, and a discussion establishing the correct time and date of the photographs based on visual clues in the eleven panels, turn to the article beginning on page 130. *CHS Library*.

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A Viticultural Mystery Solved

THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF

Zinfandel

IN CALIFORNIA



Californians are justly proud of the Zinfandel grape and the many fine wines made from it; nowhere else in the world does it grow under this name. Yet California's "mystery grape" is clearly of European origin, and many tales and theories have been compounded over the years to explain its appearance in California vineyards.

Three mysteries surround the grape's origins. The first concerns its ancestral roots in the Old World, but a chance discovery in 1967 and further research at the Davis campus of the University of California have begun to untangle this part of the puzzle.¹ The second involves the grape's transit to North America from Europe, a matter which has remained virtually unprobed by researchers. The third question, and the one to which this paper is addressed, is how the Zinfandel came to California and how it developed into a wine grape that was to become basic in the production of California's dry red table wines.

One aspect of the Zinfandel's "mysterious" origins perhaps should never have been in question. This is the fact that it had long been used in New England as a popular table grape before its introduction into California's graperies and vineyards. The story of the Zinfandel in California begins with its importation in the 1850's by men who knew it well, but who had no idea about its wine-making potential in the new environment. But what has confounded the story in the past century has been the so-called "Haraszthy legend," which states without equivocation that "Count" Agostín Haraszthy imported the Zinfandel into California in 1852 and in the ensuing years spread it to vineyardists throughout the state. Arpad Haraszthy, the count's wine-merchant son, set down the chronology of this legend fully thirty

What has confounded the story in the past century has been the so-called "Haraszthy legend," which states without equivocation that Count Agostín Haraszthy imported the Zinfandel into California in 1852. . . .

years after the fact, and since that time historians and other writers have struggled to integrate this narrative into those portions of the grape's history which can be factually documented.

The basis for the Haraszthy claim is a four-page manuscript, hand-written by Arpad Haraszthy in 1886 for historian Hubert Howe Bancroft.² From it a typescript was prepared which was then hand-corrected by Arpad.³ Subsequently, the count's son elaborated and expanded this claim in an article in a booklet about Sonoma County published in 1888.⁴ Later historians have found no documentary proof for this Haraszthy claim save these pages. As a result, even the best works on Agostín Haraszthy's contributions to the California wine industry have rested on these latter-day accounts and recollections, all based on the claims of a man who was not yet a teenager when the events began. (Arpad was born in 1840.)⁵

The Haraszthy chronology has the Zinfandel grape traveling from Agostín's Crystal Springs nursery in San Mateo County to Sonoma sometime between the spring of 1856 and May, 1857. But no Zinfandel vintage is known to have been produced for at least five years, a surprising circumstance because the grape easily brings forth a good crop by its third year. This fact is equally surprising because Arpad claimed that throughout these five years, the elder Haraszthy praised the grape as the best for making claret and sold it throughout the state as such. Many nurserymen in Northern California sold

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This article is based on a paper presented at the annual conference of the American Society of Enologists, held in June, 1976.

vinifera (foreign) cuttings during these years—millions of them, if we are to believe the advertisements appearing in the press—but no evidence exists that Haraszthy was a leading figure in this activity.⁶

That Haraszthy was active in the early development of Sonoma County's wine industry and influential in the development of the statewide industry cannot be doubted. He proved to be an effective and prolific speaker and writer on the subject of wines and vines for the frontier state, and by examining these speeches and writings we can gain a fair picture of his activities at Buena Vista in Sonoma. But there is virtually no evidence in all of his records to support his son's later claims concerning the Zinfandel.

In February, 1858, Haraszthy penned his well-known "Report on Grapes and Wine of California," and in October he wrote a long letter to the secretary of the State Agricultural Society describing his activities at Buena Vista Farm and offering good advice to growers and winemakers. But there is no word of the Zinfandel in these reports nor in any of the numerous letters he placed in Bay Area newspapers.⁷

Two years later the visiting committee of the Agricultural Society praised Haraszthy's efforts, but noted that his propagation and winemaking operations were given over chiefly to the Mission grape.⁸ He was working, reported the committee, to increase his foreign varieties, and he had given at least one Hungarian grape to other growers in the area.⁹

In 1861 Haraszthy traveled to Europe to collect every possible kind of grape vine, and by the end of the year he had returned from a fruitful trip which was well publicized in the San Francisco press. The catalogue of his new vines revealed a marvelous collection, many of which were already known in California but most of which were not. Included were 156 grapes of Hungarian origin, but not the Zinfandel.¹⁰ Three years later he exhibited a young red wine made from vinifera grapes at San Francisco's Mechanics' Institute Fair and won a



first prize. The wine grapes had not come from Buena Vista, however, but from the nearby vineyards of General Mariano Vallejo, a long-time Sonoma grape grower and winemaker. (We shall see that Vallejo may have acquired the Zinfandel much earlier from the San Jose area under the name "Black St. Peter's."¹¹) Not until 1866-67 is there a clear and direct reference to the successful use of Zinfandel at Buena Vista. It was noted by Thomas Hart Hyatt, the editor of the *California Rural Home Journal*, who found a good red wine made mostly from the Mission, "Zinfandel," and Black St. Peter's grapes.¹²

Compounding the problems raised by accepting the Haraszthy chronology are the whereabouts of the young son who supposedly recalled these events years later. Although Arpad did travel to California with his family from Wisconsin in 1851, he quickly returned east with his mother to continue his education and returned to California but once for two months in 1857. He then went to Paris to train as a civil engineer, but soon immersed himself in the study of enology, with particular emphasis on sparkling wines. He returned to Sonoma in

Arpad Haraszthy, son of the pioneer Sonoma County vineyardist and winemaker, found it to his commercial advantage to associate his firm with the state's earliest vineyards. His company advertisement (right) appeared regularly in the Pacific Wine and Spirit Review in 1888.

the summer of 1862, took charge of his father's cellars, and began his experiments which led to the first production of a good California "Champagne."¹³ Arpad was well prepared to assume a leading role in the state's wine industry in years to come, but the experience of these years on the continent certainly did not qualify him to make "eyewitness" statements on the spread of Zinfandel in California between 1852 and 1862.

The solidification of the Haraszthy myth occurred in the 1880's when the question of the origins of the grape was first seriously debated. (By this time most winemen accepted the Zinfandel as the best for making sound commercial claret, California's most profitable wine type.) Charles A. Wetmore started this process when he made his first long report to the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners. The learned Wetmore assembled much useful information on the California wine situation, but his treatment of the Zinfandel did him little justice as a scholar, and he knew it.¹⁴

During the next four years Wetmore studied the history of this mysterious grape and talked with scores of people concerning its origins in California. In doing so he developed a general theory, but found that it became hopelessly snarled with the idea put forth by the Haraszthy children that their father had imported it. In 1884 his report as the state's Chief Executive Viticultural Officer saluted Agostín Haraszthy for his 1861 importations, noting that the Count "knew" the Zinfandel grape in Hungary. However, he added quite correctly that its growth in popularity did not derive from some chance importation, but from the "advice of intelligent and experienced winemakers." Wetmore's language became precise and deliberate when he wrote about the Zinfandel in his "Ampelography." He stated that the grape had arrived in California "at an early day" from eastern nurserymen, noting the Massachusetts spelling "Zinfindal" and the spelling "Zinfardel" mentioned by one "American authority." His conclusion about the grape's origin is as good as any propounded in the next

Arpad Haraszthy & Co.
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three-quarters of a century. The Zinfandel, he wrote, "was not extensively propagated from early nursery stocks, but became sufficiently scattered throughout the state to cause much present confusion in the proper claim for recognition as to the credit that is due for introducing it." Not to injure his friend Arpad Haraszthy, Wetmore politely added, "That it was directly imported by Colonel [Agoston] Haraszthy is known to his family."¹⁵ Wetmore did not mention that no evidence beyond this familial tradition existed for the claim. His conclusions expressed in a trade journal at about the same time were equally measured. The Zinfandel's origins were unknown, he observed, but it probably had been taken "from collections in Europe that are almost as little known there as here, rare curiosities of viticulture, which we have utilized."¹⁶

The dispute about the grape's introduction to California broke into the open in May, 1885, when the noted Sonoma historian and journalist, Robert A. Thompson, published a long article in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*. No man was more deeply immersed in Sonoma County history than Thompson, and he attacked the Haraszthy claim head-on. New England was the source of California's Zinfandel, he proclaimed, and he backed his claim with substantial convincing evidence.¹⁷ Three weeks later Antoine Delmas of San Jose, one of Cali-

[Historian Robert Thompson] attacked the Haraszthy claim head-on. New England was the source of California's Zinfandel, he proclaimed.

fornia's pioneer nurserymen, added his voice to the debate. He claimed that he had imported the Zinfandel from France in 1852 under the name Black St. Peter's and that he had sent General Vallejo cuttings under that name in 1854. Delmas further claimed that he had grafted the Santa Clara vineyard of J. P. Pierce to the Black St. Peter's and that everyone knew it to be a Zinfandel vineyard.¹⁸

A week later at a viticultural meeting in San Jose, Arpad Haraszthy admitted that the Black St. Peter's was much like the Zinfandel and that the grapes growing in the Pierce vineyard seemed to be Zinfandel. But he stuck to his old claim and attacked only certain details in Thompson's *Bulletin* article. In doing so he made reference to the same "American authority" whom Wetmore had cited concerning the possible Hungarian origin of the grape. He further stated that the Zinfandel had grown in his mother's garden in the home country

and that it might have been a seedling of the Pinot Noir.¹⁹

It was clear that the San Francisco wine merchants, led by Haraszthy, would have nothing to do with the debunking tales from the country. After the summer of 1885, no more talk appeared in the trade journals concerning the debate, and the anti-Haraszthy group let the issue drop. People were careful about calling a man a liar in those days, particularly concerning family matters, and within a year Arpad Haraszthy had begun producing the "documentary evidence" that would become the basis for the Haraszthy claim. However, if we disregard this questionable "evidence," a clear picture of the origins of the Zinfandel in California emerges which should set the record to rest.

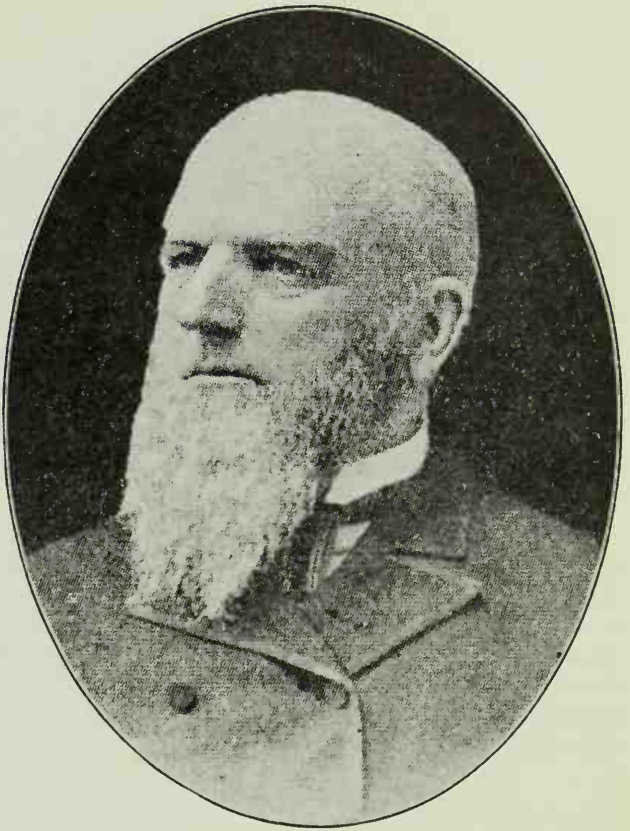
The "American authority" cited by Wetmore and Arpad Haraszthy was William Robert Prince, a nurseryman from Long Island whose Linnaean Botanic Gardens contained an extraordinary collection of wine and table grapes in the 1830's. His Catalogue, published in 1830 as part of his *Treatise on the Vine*, contained most of the major wine grapes we know today from Europe. Under a category of foreign varieties, "the most of which are of recent introduction," he included the "Black Zinfandel of Hungary."²⁰ Unfortunately, we do not know to what grape he referred.

In New England in the decades after the 1830's, a very

These which were all in the garden before March 1854
These ~~were~~ and ~~these~~ were destined for nursery
purposes, and ~~discovered~~ ^{considerable} profit
from their sale ^{to all parts of the State}. It was in this introduction of
vines that the first Zinfandel grape vine reached
California, and ~~it was~~ ^{it was} even after ^{it was} his pride to recom-
mend its plantation as the best grape for Red
wine or Claret. In 1855 he negotiated the

In 1886 Arpad Haraszthy prepared a manuscript on the introduction of the Zinfandel grape for historian H. H. Bancroft. Its facts are of questionable accuracy.

*In 1885 Robert A. Thompson, pioneer
Sonoma County historian, questioned the
fable crediting Haraszthy with bringing the
Zinfandel to California.*



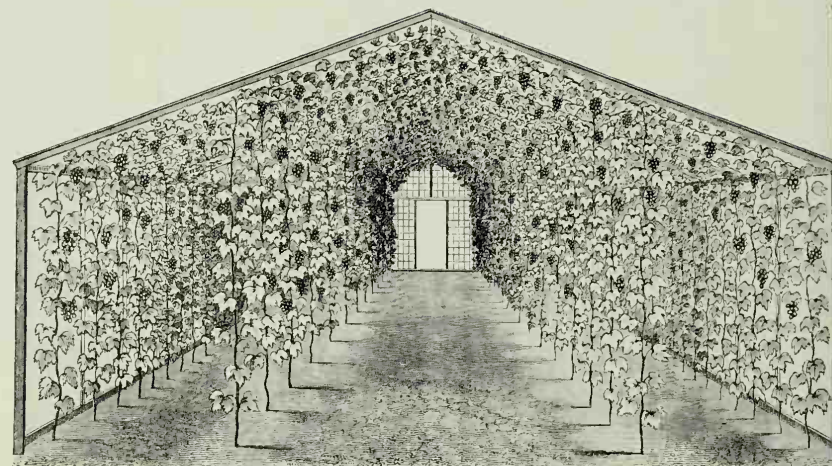
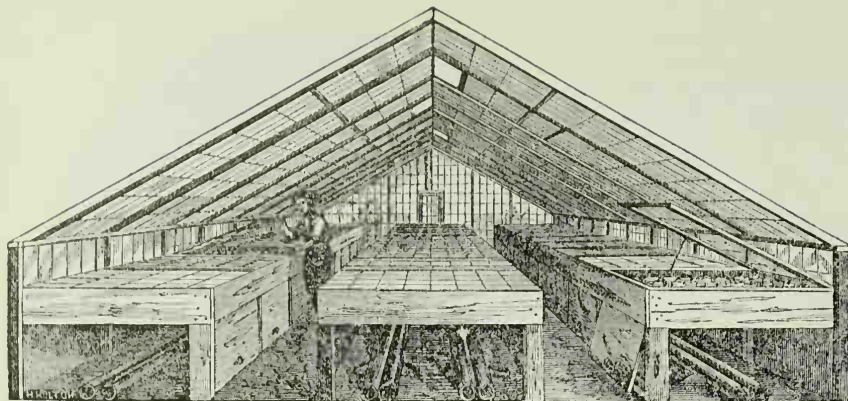
profitable fruit culture had developed, particularly the growing of grapes under glass. By “forcing” the vines, grape growers were able to supply the tables of Boston and Cambridge with clusters of luscious grapes as early in the year as February. The Massachusetts Horticultural Society enabled vineyardists to exchange information, and the annual meetings of the Society brought forth fine displays of a wide variety of grapes, most of which had appeared in Prince’s Catalogue compiled in the previous decade. Almost always included was the “Zinfindal,” a grape much praised and carefully described by New England nurserymen. Although it had a lesser reputation than the Black Hamburg or the Golden Chasselas as a table grape, it was well liked and successful. First exhibited in 1834 by Samuel J. Perkins of Boston, it won its first premium in 1839 in the collection of Otis Johnson of Lynn.²¹

J. Fiske Allen was the leading New England authority on grape culture in the 1840’s and 1850’s, and in his works the Zinfindal has an important, if not premier, position. His careful descriptions fit our concept of the grape almost perfectly; his description of the Black St. Peter’s, also common in New England graperies, is almost identical to that of the Zinfindal. However, Allen did not take it for granted, nor should we, that Prince’s “Zinfardel” was identical to the New England Zinfindal.²²

The connection between New England and the origins of California’s agriculture, particularly its grape culture, is obvious from an examination of the origins of the nurserymen who were most active in spreading the state’s early fruit culture, and from the list of grape varieties first introduced into California in the 1850’s. An almost standard “New England collection” appeared in the nurseries of numerous California grape growers. Amid scores of native and foreign grape types listed, an

obvious pattern developed, with the leading names corresponding closely to grapes in the Prince Catalogue, in Allen’s *Treatise on the Culture of the Grape*, and in the reports of the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.²³

By the 1850’s the Zinfandel had even acquired a quasi-official status, for in 1858 the Agricultural Section of the Commissioner of Patents Office had listed the Zinfindal in its collections and had published a recommended list of foreign grapes, which closely resembled what we have called the standard New England collection that included the Zinfindal.²⁴ It is worth noting that in 1860 the same government office published a list of twenty-four Hungarian grapes for distribution without mentioning the Zinfandel. Two pages later, however, the report listed “foreign grapes in course of propagation” which included the New England collection and the Zinfindal. Although the Prince collection and Prince’s work would have been well known to these agricultural experts, for some reason they chose not to identify the Zinfandel as Hungarian.²⁵



New England's vinifera grape culture of the 1820's and 1830's was aimed at developing table grapes grown under glass or in heated graperies like those pictured. An important but not a favored variety was the Zinfandel. The picture (top) shows a propagating shed; the drawing (right), a hot-house interior.

The introduction of the Zinfandel into California can be described as occurring in four possible ways. The first, and certainly the most convincing, is the early and wide use of the grape by nurserymen and vineyardists operating in the Sacramento area. The most important of these was surely A. P. Smith, whose Pomological Gardens on the American River three miles north of the town brought consistent plaudits from visitors. The name Zinfandel (spelled "Zcinfindall") first appeared in official California records reporting Smith's exhibition of the grape at the State Fair in 1858. His nursery operation regularly won premiums in the state's early agricultural competitions, particularly his displays of foreign grapes.²⁶

According to historian Robert Thompson, Smith acquired his Zinfandel from New Englander Wilson G. Flint, probably in 1855. As a pioneer agriculturist of the Sacramento Valley, Smith was greatly interested in the future of California grape culture,²⁷ and like many of his associates he exhibited the Zinfandel in a general

New England collection, terming it a "fine wine grape" in 1860.²⁸ Thompson also mentions D. W. Applegate, an Auburn grape grower, who had also acquired rooted cuttings from Flint. Flint apparently had ordered them from New England. The Sonoma historian further mentions another prominent nurseryman, James R. Nickerson, a man whose early experiments with the Zinfandel are well documented. Both Nickerson and Smith exhibited the grape at the State Fair in 1859, and in 1860 Smith was making a good claret from his Zinfandel.²⁹ Other pioneers of the Zinfandel in this region were Charles Covillaud of Marysville and Charles M. Weber of Stockton.³⁰ The latter first introduced the grape under its accepted name to the vintners of the San Jose area when he exhibited the Zinfandel at the 1860 Santa Clara County Fair.³¹

A second manner of introduction of the Zinfandel is also plausible if the Haraszthy chronology is overlooked. The events concern Frederick W. Macondray,

*A New England sea captain, horticulturist,
and first president of the California
Agricultural Society, Frederick W.
Macondray brought large numbers of fruit
and grape cuttings, including the
Zinfandel, from Massachusetts
in the early 1850's*



the first president of the California Agricultural Society and a New Englander who had been a long-time member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Macondray's name is almost solely associated with the early mercantile history of San Francisco and with the moderate faction of the city's Vigilance committees. But he was also an avid grape grower, and he brought a large collection of vines to the Bay Area aboard his sailing ship from New England.³²

Colonel James Warren, a fellow New Englander and founder of the prestigious *California Farmer*, considered Captain Macondray a giant in the establishment of California's early agriculture. Macondray's most obvious contributions in a practical area were his efforts to propagate foreign grape cuttings in the Bay Area. He established a small graperie at his home in San Francisco, but more importantly, he purchased land near San Mateo and established Baywood Farm, where he carried on the agricultural pursuits he had begun years earlier in New England.³³ For several years, Captain Macondray won almost every prize offered in the state for foreign grapes grown under glass.³⁴ His work was cut short by ill health, however, and he sold Baywood to John Parrott. When Macondray died in 1862, he was highly praised by his fellow agriculturists for his pioneer work.³⁵

Captain Macondray's Napa-Sonoma connection in the 1850's was J. W. Osborne, another New Englander and the proprietor of Oak Knoll Farm near Napa. In 1856 Oak Knoll had won the Agricultural Society's highest premium for a cultivated farm.³⁶ Osborne, too, was a leading nurseryman in the area and interested in the cultivation of foreign grapes. He was elected the first vice-president of the State Agricultural Society and, like his friend Macondray, took advantage of almost every exhibition to show off his excellent collections of foreign grape varieties. In 1857 both men entered exhibitions of foreign grapes at the Mechanics' Institute Fair in San Francisco. Each presented what amounted to a standard New England collection, and both exhibits included the

"Zinfandel." Macondray's grapes, Colonel Warren wrote, "were truly superb and reminded us of the exhibitions in which we had been engaged in former years, in the good old Bay State [Massachusetts]."³⁷

After the vintage in the fall of 1859, the Sonoma area witnessed a flurry of preparation for the spring planting which proved important for the development of the Zinfandel in California. Osborne had procured a large number of rooted cuttings from Macondray—the standard New England list, including the Zinfandel—and he sold two wagonloads to William Boggs, a skillful vineyardist and manager of the propagating garden of the newly formed Sonoma Horticultural Society.³⁸ Boggs later wrote historian Thompson that the Zinfandel "was unhurt by the frost, and grew better in the nursery than any other variety. None of us knew anything about the quality of these grapes, especially the Zinfandel, until they grew in the vineyard." (How could Boggs not have known of it, we may ask, if his neighbor Haraszthy was at that time spreading the Zinfandel throughout the state?) The next season Boggs showed the Zinfandel to General Vallejo's winemaker, Dr. Victor Fauré, who asked for and received cuttings. In 1862 Fauré produced a small amount of wine from these vines and thought it a good claret.³⁹ Vallejo, it should be noted, was to become Arpad Haraszthy's father-in-law in a few months, and the young man, recently returned



Antoine Delmas established his San Jose nursery in 1851 and imported vinifera grapes from France and New England. He supplied the Zinfandel to General Vallejo at an early date. Pictured with him are his sons, Delphin and Joseph (right and left).

General Vallejo made good wine at his Sonoma estate, "Lachryma Montis," long before the late 1850's. His winemaker produced a good Zinfandel wine in 1862.

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Also—

RASPBERRY,

CURRANT AND

GOOSEBERRY TREES,

In good assortment.

Catalogues of all the varieties grown in this Garden will be sent to all who desire them, by addressing letters to the proprietor.

All orders will be answered promptly, and Trees and Vines carefully packed for any place in the country.

A. DELMAS,

1511 French Gardens, San Jose.

Premium Nursery!

THE FIRST PREMIUM was awarded by the California State Agricultural Society, at the recent Fair held in San Jose, to the

COMMERCIAL NURSERY!

The Proprietors of this Establishment would invite the attention of all intending to plant Orchards.

Garden or Vineyards, to visit their Nursery and examine for themselves, before purchasing elsewhere, where the largest and best assortment in the State is consisting of

150,000 Fruit Trees!

For the Trade of 1856 and 1857;

AT REDUCED PRICES!

Apple, 55 best Varieties, 1 to 3 years old.	
Peach, 30 "	" "
Pear, 41 "	" "
Cherry, 22 "	" "
Plum, 15 "	" "

Also, Apricots, Nectarines, Almonds, Figs, Currants, Gooseberries, Strawberries, Grapes (foreign and native), Rose Bushes, and Shade and Ornamental Trees. Catalogues can be had at the Nursery.

San Jose, Nov. 14, 1856.

num11-4u

San Jose Nursery.

L. PREVOST,

Has on hand for the market this season,

AT VERY REDUCED PRICES,

100,000 Budded and Grafted

FRUIT & ORNAMENTAL

TREES,

Vines, &c.,



Advertisements for nurseries appeared in great numbers in the San Jose Telegraph in 1856. Bernard S. Fox maintained the most important nursery, and Antoine Delmas was most important for supplying grape vines.

from France to manage his father's cellars, would probably have had some contact with this series of events, at least the production of the wine. He would not necessarily have known the source of the cuttings, however, having been in Europe when Osborne sold them to Boggs.

The third probable means of introduction of the Zinfandel into California may have been the earliest, but its details are far more shrouded in confusion than the first two. There is little doubt, however, that the Zinfandel, for some time called the Black St. Peter's, was cultivated and sold in the San Jose area by Antoine Delmas. During the 1885 debate he had claimed that he first imported it in 1852. This may or may not be accurate, but by the late 1850's whatever Delmas had imported into the Santa Clara Valley was known as the Black St. Peter's. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that Delmas brought the grape from New England under this name and later confused it with grapes he brought from France.

In the 1850's San Jose was the home of a large colony of French agriculturalists and the largest concentration of major nurseries in the state. Louis Pellier, Louis Prevost, and J. B. Bontemps were but a few of the famous resident growers. The area's most important nursery belonged to Bernard S. Fox, a New Englander and the former superintendent of Hovey & Co. of Boston, one of the world's greatest nursery concerns. Fox and the others imported the standard New England collection of foreign grapes, to which were added leading French varieties directly imported by Delmas and Charles Le Franc of Almadén fame.⁴⁰ The San Jose chronology beyond these general statements remains very confused, no matter how important historically, and Charles Wetmore's orderly mind reeled at the jumble he saw in the "ampelography" of the Santa Clara Valley.

Delmas, it is known, began his nursery operation in 1851. His grape collections were unique in that they con-

In the 1850's San Jose was the home of a large colony of French agricultural specialists and the largest concentration of nurseries in the state.

tained the standard New England collection augmented by authentic varietals of the best French wine grapes, which appear in his catalogue as "Cabrunet," "Medoc," and "Black Meunier." Able to advertise 105 different foreign varieties,⁴¹ he entered most agricultural competitions and was clearly the master of the "collection" category. His name, with those of Smith, Macondray and Osborne, dominates all major grape growing competitions in California through 1860.⁴²

The process by which the Zinfandel and the Black St. Peter's became confounded in Santa Clara County will never be known. But it is significant that Delmas provided General Vallejo with the Black St. Peter's and that editor Thomas Hyatt confirmed this claim eighteen years before the great debate began.⁴³ Descriptions of the two grapes in California and New England were consistently similar.⁴⁴ Whatever the case, Delmas made a red wine in 1858 that was judged the best at the next year's State Fair. The reporting committee, however, was confused by the fact that the young claret had been made from foreign grapes which "had been selected more as table fruit than for wine making." They were Zinfandel. Within the year the *Alta California* had singled out Delmas and praised his "French claret." By the next spring the San Jose nurseryman was grafting over old Mission grape vineyards to this new grape.⁴⁵

Finally, in discussing the introduction of the Zinfandel to California, it must be acknowledged that many nurserymen, far more than mentioned here, imported the standard New England grape collection to California in the 1850's. This roster would of course include the

name of Agostín Haraszthy. When Arpad later made his claim for his father in the four-page manuscript prepared for Bancroft, he stated that the vines imported by his father to the Crystal Springs property in San Mateo County were “from *the East* and from Europe” (emphasis added). Arpad’s rigid claim that the Zinfandel was directly imported from Europe in 1852 was issued much later and with an eye to larger public consumption.

It should not be assumed that the early small success of the Zinfandel in the 1860’s made any sudden change in California wine-grape growing practices in the early decades. The Mission grape remained overwhelmingly predominant, and it continued to be used to produce a rather unstable red wine, often colored with chemicals, which brought no credit to the state’s wine industry. Growers were unwilling to rip up established vineyards and plant a new grape, because the Mission was neither unsuccessful nor unprofitable. The calls by serious connoisseurs and wine merchants for the planting of a better claret grape went generally unheeded for years after the Zinfandel’s possibilities were discovered between 1859 and 1862.

Recommendations for the Zinfandel were heard for some years before they registered with growers in the North Coast counties. In 1858 the Mechanics’ Institute Fruit Growers’ Committee, chaired by none other than J. W. Osborne, had recommended the grape for further trial. (A year later Osborne made sure that it would be given a trial in Sonoma when he sold Zinfandel cuttings to William Boggs.) At the same time in New York, the American Pomological Society also recommended the grape for general cultivation.⁴⁶

The Zinfandel grape got its first good notices in the Sacramento area after 1860. James Nickerson decided in that year that the area’s two best wine grapes were the

Catawba for whites and the “Black Zinfandel” for reds. James Marshall of Grass Valley, Charles Covillaud, Wilson Flint, and A. P. Smith had all published their praise for the grape by 1861. Colonel James Warren discovered the Zinfandel at Covillaud’s ranch in that year and praised this “rare variety” which he thought came from the Rhine Valley area in Europe.⁴⁷

By 1865 Benjamin N. Bugbey of Natoma Vineyard fame had discovered the grape and selected it as one of the five best for the future of California winemaking.⁴⁸ The movement also spread into the Sierra foothills in Tuolumne and El Dorado counties. In the latter John S. Hittell, the noted journalist and historian, was moved by the excellence of the “Zinfenthal” being made by Martin Alhoff at Coloma. A Nevada City vintner, F. Seibert, won one of the first awards given a pure Zinfandel in 1869. In the same year George West was producing the first successful “white” Zinfandel near Stockton.⁴⁹

Although Vallejo’s winemaker, Dr. Fauré, had advised Sonoma growers in 1860 to order all the Zinfandel cuttings they could, it took at least five years for their wine product to cause more than a passing interest in the Napa-Sonoma area. Interest was stirred after the 1865 vintage, however, when it was found that the quality of Mission grape wine could be greatly improved by healthy doses of Zinfandel. The *Alta California*, watchdog of the California wine industry and defender of quality, reported the following spring that in Sonoma “a grape called Zinfandel is declared to be best for producing . . . claret mixed with the native [Mission]; consequently there has been a very great demand for the cuttings.” A rush of planting occurred on the Sonoma side, and the 1866 vintage was good enough to cause some to think that this “Black Zinfandel” might even replace the Mission for making claret.⁵⁰

The following spring witnessed a heavy demand for Zinfandel cuttings in Napa and Sonoma counties. A trusted voice from the Napa side, Jacob Schram, praised



At Baywood in San Mateo County, Macondray built his home called "Brookside."

Joseph W. Osborne, a New England connection in the Zinfandel story, established Oak Knoll estate in 1851. In 1859 he secured grape cuttings from his old friend Captain Macondray and sold some to William O. Boggs of Sonoma.



The Zinfandel grape was early and widely used by nurserymen and vineyardists in the Sacramento area. Growers hauled grapes to centrally located wineries like this one at Lodi.



the new "Zenfenthal" as perhaps the best grape available for red wine. By the end of the 1867 season growers stampeded to buy these cuttings in the two counties, and by 1869 the grape's reputation was firmly established in the region.⁵¹ The Mission, however, remained by far the most widely grown in the area.

In 1868 the first North Coast award for a Zinfandel was presented to Jacob R. Snyder, the pioneer Sonoma wineman, who received a silver medal at the Mechanics' Institute Fair. The next spring even Arpad Haraszthy came out in print to recommend the grape.⁵² At this same time the first description of the flavor of Zinfandel was given by J. A. Lockwood, a St. Helena vintner, who praised it for its "delightful flavor resembling the raspberry." But the most convincing data from the growers' point of view were doubtless the prices quoted at the end of the 1869 season: young Zinfandel was fetching 75¢ per gallon, Sonoma Mission only 40¢.⁵³

By 1870 Northern California's winemakers had obviously decided to improve the quality of their claret, and replacing the ubiquitous Mission was somehow understood to be a major part of the solution. At first, two grapes, the Zinfandel and the Black Malvasia, were the popular alternatives. When the great grape-planting boom hit the state in the 1880's, the Zinfandel was quite rightly universally accepted as the future basis for California's dry red table wine.⁵⁴

The mystery concerning the origins of the Zinfandel in California has been persistently troublesome to writers of the state's wine history precisely because the introduction of the grape was no mystery at all. It arrived almost unnoticed and spread throughout the state with few taking note of it at the time. In the confusion of early nursery propagation, it was confounded with other grapes. That it arrived from New England as a table grape grown under glass added to the later confusion. Of course, too, the ridiculous orthography, the miscellaneous spellings in early publications, bewildered contemporary observers. Finally, it must be owned that the

Zinfandel was rarely bottled and labeled under its present name before the late 1880's. This 1883 label from the Napa Valley Wine Company is one of the earliest extant.



"mysteries" of the origins of the Zinfandel in California were compounded by a seemingly disingenuous attempt to impose upon the documentary evidence a theory of origin that cannot be reconciled with the evidence available today.

The acceptance of the Zinfandel by California vintners owes little to any special foresight on the part of those who originally imported the grape from New England. Charles Wetmore's conclusion that the grape's success came from the fact that it was selected out of the chaos of foreign varieties by intelligent and experienced winemakers remains true. It took too long for the grape to be accepted, and then it was planted too widely, often

in the worst places and against the good advice of the very men who had first recommended it. In recent years Californians have had to rediscover what the early winemakers first saw in the Zinfandel, a truly fine claret grape.

The illustrations on pages 114 and 126 are courtesy the CHS Library; on page 116, Wine Institute, San Francisco; on page 118, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; on page 119, Sonoma County Library; on page 121, G. E. Macondray; on page 125 (bottom), San Mateo County Historical Association; on page 125 (top), Napa County Library; on page 122 (top), Nelty Delmas Lefranc Horney; and on page 127, Vintage Image, St. Helena. The illustration on page 122 (bottom) is from Thompson & Co., *Atlas of Sonoma County California* (1877); on page 120 (top), Andrew S. Fuller, *The Grape Culturist* (New York, 1867) and page 120 (bottom), J. Fisk Allen, *Practical Treatise* (Boston, 1848), both courtesy The Christian Brothers Collection, Wine Museum of San Francisco; on page 122 (right), from *San Jose Telegraph*, December 9, 1856.

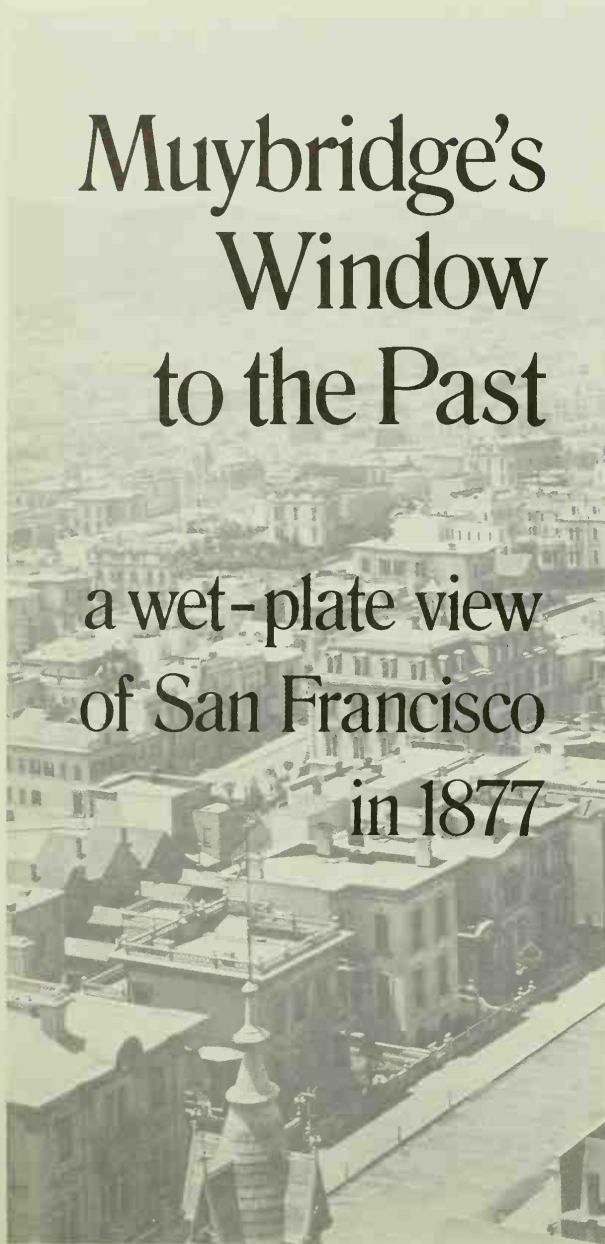
Notes

1. See Leon D. Adams, *The Wines of America* (Boston, 1973), pp. 402-04, for a brief account of the discovery of the "Primitivo di Gioia" as a possible Italian relative of the Zinfandel. Professor Harold P. Olmo of the University of California, Davis, has identified the Primitivo as a black variety "closely resembling the Zinfandel." However, he does not think this grape is of Italian origin. H. P. Olmo to author, December 18, 1975. The relationship between these two grapes has more recently been established virtually as genetic identity in a paper presented at the conference of The American Society of Enologists on June 23, 1977. W. H. Wolfe and H. P. Olmo, "Application of Isozyme 'Finger Printing' to Specific Problems of Variety Identification: Comparison of . . . Zinfandel and Primitivo di Gioia."
2. Arpad Haraszthy manuscript (1886), 4 pp., in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Arpad claims herein that his father imported the Zinfandel to his Crystal Springs nursery in San Mateo County in 1854.
3. (Hubert Howe Bancroft), "The Haraszthy Family" (San Francisco, July 1, 1886), typescript hand-corrected by Arpad Haraszthy. On page eleven of this document, Arpad has added the word "first" to this sentence: "It is now universally admitted that to Col. Haraszthy is due sole credit of the (first) introduction of foreign vines into the State of California." This is an absurd claim.
4. Arpad Haraszthy, "Early Viticulture in Sonoma," *Sonoma and Russian River Valley, Illustrated* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 77-79. Here Arpad contradicts his previous private claim by stating that his father imported the Zinfandel directly from Hungary while in San Diego in 1852.
5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), VII: 46-47; Paul Fredericksen, "The Authentic Haraszthy Story," an historical research project by the Wine Institute for the Wine Advisory Board, reprinted from *Wines and Vines* (San Francisco, 1947), pp. 3-5; Frank Schoonmaker and Tom Marvel, *American Wines* (New York, 1941), pp. 63-64, 145-46.
6. Haraszthy, "Early Viticulture," 77-78.
7. *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society during the Year 1858* (Sacramento, 1859), pp. 242-46, 311-329. (Cited hereafter as *Agric. Soc.*)
8. *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 78-79.
9. *Agric. Soc.*, 1859, p. 270; *Alta California* (San Francisco), November 21, 1868. Haraszthy called the grape the "Monese." Another Sonoma winemaker spelled it "Menési."
10. *First Annual Report of the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners*, Second Edition—Revised (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 184-88.
11. *Alta California*, October 1, 1864.
12. T. Hart Hyatt, *Hyatt's Hand Book of Grape Culture* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 159, 162, 210.
13. "The Haraszthy Family," pp. 24-27; Arpad Haraszthy to James L. L. Warren, April 30 through December 1, 1861, ten letters to the editor of the *California Farmer* in the James L. L. Warren Papers, Box 14, Bancroft Library.
14. *First Annual Report of the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners*, Second Edition—Revised (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 45, 54, 65.
15. *Second Annual Report of the Chief Executive Viticultural Officer to the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners, for the Years 1882-3 and 1883-4* (Sacramento, 1884), pp. 37, 105, 117.
16. *San Francisco Merchant* (*Pacific Wine and Spirit Review*), January 4, 1884.
17. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; *Santa Rosa Press-Democrat*, August 5, 1903.
18. *San Jose Daily Herald*, May 20, 1885.
19. *San Jose Daily Herald*, May 28, 1885; *San Francisco Merchant*, July 3, 1885, pp. 82-83.
20. William Robert Prince, *Treatise on the Vine* (New York, 1830), p. 343; Leon Adams to author, November 29, 1975.
21. *Transactions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society* (Boston, 1834), p. 22; (1839), p. 29.
22. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; J. Fiske Allen, *A Practical Treatise on the Culture and Treatment of the Grape Vine* (Boston, 1848), pp. 67, 94, 110, 114. These pages refer to the less common "2nd Edition, Enlarged," published by Dutton & Wentworth. The "Third Edition—Enlarged and Revised" was published in 1855 in New York by C. M. Saxton & Com-

- pany. The equivalent pagination is: 88, 123, 144, 297. See also pages 300-02, 308. For details of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, the author is indebted to Charles E. Olken, letter to author, August 22, 1975.
23. The standard New England list would include: Black Hamburg, White Frontignan, Muscat of Alexandria, Grizzly Frontignan, Cannon Hall Muscat, Golden Chasselas, Black St. Peter's, White Malvasia, Black Prince, Sweetwater and Syrian, mostly table grapes, but some capable of producing good wine. To this list should be added, occasionally, the "Zinfandel."
24. *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1858* (Washington, 1859), pp. 422-24.
25. *Commissioner of Patents*, 1860, pp. 30-32.
26. *California Farmer* (San Francisco), June 15, 1854; *Alta California*, October 12, 1856; September 28, 1857; September 1, 1858; *Sacramento Bee*, September 29, 1857; August 31, 1858; *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, pp. 98-99.
27. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; Wilson G. Flint, "Grape Culture in the United States," in the *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1863* (Washington, 1863), pp. 147-158.
28. *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, p. 306.
29. *Agric. Soc.*, 1859, pp. 223, 415; *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 55-56, 60. Surely some typesetting goblin was at work whenever the spelling of "Zinfandel" came up in these government publications. Zeinfindall, Tinfandel, Linfandel, and Finfandel are obviously variants of the standard New England spelling. Years later we find the same sprite at work in a paper by Prof. E. W. Hilgard: "Yinfandel." *Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1878, p. 504.
30. *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, pp. 168-69; *Alta California*, September 1, 1858; *California Farmer*, November 30, 1860, p. 108.
31. *California Farmer*, October 26, 1860, p. 65.
32. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; *Macondray & Co., Inc. One Hundredth Anniversary* (San Francisco, 1948); Charles E. Olken (Boston, Mass.) to author, August 22, 1975.
33. *California Farmer*, January 5, 1854, pp. 1-2; September 14, 1854, p. 99; *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, p. 251.
34. *California Farmer*, October 19, 1854, p. 121; October 9, 1859, p. 97; October 8, 1858, p. 74; *Alta California*, October 10, 1856; September 28, 1857; October 2, 1857; October 6, 1858; September 9, 1859; *San Jose Telegraph*, October 21, 1856.
35. *Alta California*, August 11, 1860; Frederick W. Macondray, Jr. Letterbook, 1859-1860 (Bancroft Library), letters for September 3, 1859, October 11, 1859, February 3, 1860. For Col. Warren's obituary of Macondray, see *California Farmer*, August 1, 1862, p. 148.
36. *San Jose Telegraph*, October 21, 1856; *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, p. 241.
37. *California Farmer*, September 18, 1857, p. 73; *Alta California*, September 28, 1857; October 6, 1858; October 6, 1860. Osborne never defeated Macondray in head-to-head competition.
38. Boggs' vineyard was judged best in Sonoma County the following year. *Sonoma County Democrat*, October 3, 1861.
39. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; *California Wine, Wool, and Stock Journal* (San Francisco), I (June, 1863): 107-09.
40. *California Farmer*, June 8, 1854; September 14, 1854; August 8, 1856; *San Jose Telegraph*, December 9, 1856.
41. *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, pp. 257-58; *San Jose Telegraph*, December 9, 1856; May 19, 1857; November 10, 1858; *Alta California*, December 9, 1861.
42. *California Farmer*, October 17, 1855, pp. 124-25; October 8, 1858, p. 74; *San Jose Telegraph*, October 21, 1856; October 14, 1857; October 26, 1859; *Alta California*, October 6, 1858; September 8, 11, 25, and 27, 1859; October 27, 1859; October 6 and 11, 1860.
43. *San Francisco Merchant*, July 3, 1885, pp. 82-83; *San Jose Telegraph*, October 14, 1857; October 26, 1859.
44. Hyatt, *Hand Book of Grape Culture*, 159, 210; Prince, *Treatise on the Vine*, 338; Allen, *A Practical Treatise*, third edition, 308, 311.
45. *Agric. Soc.*, 1859, p. 303; *Alta California*, August 14, 1860.
46. *San Jose Telegraph*, September 15, 1858; *Commissioner of Patents*, 1858, pp. 422-24.
47. *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 63-67, 306, 315; *California Farmer*, September 27, 1861, p. 18. For Col. Warren's position in early California agriculture, see Walton E. Bean, "James Warren and the Beginnings of Agricultural Institutions in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (December, 1944): 361-75.
48. *Agric. Soc.*, 1866 and 1867, pp. 535-40.
49. *Agric. Soc.*, 1864 and 1865, p. 217; 1870 and 1871, pp. 293-99, 505-06; *Alta California*, July 12, 1867; August 19, 1867; October 10, 1869.
50. *Alta California*, March 26, 1866; *Agric. Soc.*, 1866 and 1867, pp. 535-540.
51. *Alta California*, May 6 and 13, 1867; August 19, 1867; January 20, 1868; *Sonoma Democrat*, May 28, 1870.
52. *Alta California*, September 9, 1868; March 9, 1869. Some years earlier Arpad Haraszthy had written a series of articles for the *California Wine, Wool, and Stock Journal*, a short-lived journal (June, 1863-September, 1864) published by Col. Warren's son, John Quincy Adams Warren. In this series Arpad included articles recommending various grape types for many purposes. In the April number he recommended several foreign grapes for white wines, including the Riesling, Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc, and Semillon. The next issue would have included his recommendation for red wine grapes. It is missing from both known collections of this rare periodical. It is particularly curious that it should be missing from the Bancroft collection because it was made up of Arpad's personal copies.
53. *Agric. Soc.*, 1870 and 1871, pp. 507-11; *Alta California*, December 6, 1869.
54. *Alta California*, January 20, 1870; February 15, 1871.

Muybridge's Window to the Past

a wet-plate view
of San Francisco
in 1877



In the 1870s, thousands of men across the country were experimenting with the relatively new art form of collodion wet-plate photography which had been developed in 1851. One such investigator, Eadweard Muybridge, who billed himself as a “landscape, marine, architectural, and engineering photographer,” put together a series of closely matched wet-plate photographs in 1877 to produce the first 360° view of youthful San Francisco. His work, sold for its artistic value in the last century, provides today’s scholars with a remarkable document recorded by a faithful witness—the camera. This marvelous view of San Francisco in June, 1877, shows the city as experienced by many of the people who became the legends, stories, and history of the city.

The first public announcement of the panorama, which was produced from glass negatives, each approximately 8" x 10", appeared in a short article in the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* on July 13, 1877. The so-called wet-plate process was a bothersome and ungainly technique requiring each glass negative to be sensitized with a solution of silver nitrate, exposed while wet, developed, and dried within an hour. Muybridge successfully met the challenge and advertised his completed work in the *San Francisco Chronicle's* Fine Arts column, offering the eight-foot-long panorama in book form, or rolled, suitable for framing, for \$10 gold.¹ Panoramas of San Francisco of a less complex fashion had been produced since the Gold Rush days, but never one of such grand size and perfectly matched plates. The eleven-panel original (in the collection of the California Historical Society Library), from which this reproduction was made, was a gift from the photographer to his patron, Leland Stanford.

Thirty years after the gold rush and twenty years after the Nevada silver rush, San Francisco was the home of millionaires, struggling labor unions, and rugged men

The author is a graduate student at San Francisco State University with special interests in San Francisco and photo history.

1. Golden Gate
2. Presidio
3. Charles Crocker
4. D. D. Colton
5. George A. Hill
6. H. H. Noble
7. N. Yung
8. A. E. Head
9. Mt. Tamalpais
10. Sausalito
11. Richardson's Bay
12. A. Ebbetts
13. Rev. W. H. Platt
14. Black Point
15. H. L. Davis
16. Wm. T. Coleman
17. J. G. Haydon
18. George W. Weaver
19. Lloyd Tevis
20. Russian Hill
21. Angel Island
22. Alcatraz Island
23. Red Rock
24. Sacramento Route
- 24A. Meigg's Wharf
- 24B. North Beach
- 24B. Toland Medical College
- 24C. Home for Inebriates
25. Broadway
26. Colored Church
27. Methodist E. Church
28. First brick house in S.F.
29. German Church
30. Telegraph Hill
31. Telegraph Hill School
32. St. Francis Church
33. County Jail
34. Harry Meiggs
35. Commercial Hotel
36. First Presbyterian Church
37. High School
38. David Porter
39. Spring Valley Reservoir
40. Berkeley
41. Goat Island
42. Fog Bell
43. Temescal
44. C.P.R.R. Co. Oakland Wharf
45. P.C.S.S. Co. Wharf
- 45A. S.F. & N.P. R.R. Co. Wharf
46. Cal. Pac. Ry. Co. Wharf
47. N.P.C. Ry. Co. Wharf
48. C.P.R. Oakland Ferry
49. Post Office and Custom House
50. Appraiser's Bldg.
51. U.S. Courts
52. Bethel Church
53. International Hotel
54. City Hall
55. Cal. Supreme Court
56. Montgomery Block
57. Sherman's Block
58. Niantic Block
- 58A. S.F. Bulletin and S.F. Call
59. U.S. Treasury
60. Rothschild's Bank
61. S.F. Chronicle & S.F. Post
62. Donahoe and Kelly Bank
- 62A. Morse Gallery
63. Wells Fargo Co.
64. Alaska Com. Co.
65. Bank of California
66. London & S.F. Bank
67. Express Building
- 67A. Union Club
68. California and Market Streets
69. Commercial Block
70. Hayward Building
71. Merchants Exchange
72. Safe Deposit Block
73. Stevenson's Block
74. Odd Fellow Hall
75. California Market
76. Alta California
77. Oakland
78. Lumber Wharfs
79. Oregon S.S. Co. Wharf
80. Murphy & Grant Building
81. Brooklyn Hotel
82. Mercantile Hotel
83. S.F. Stock Exchange
84. Nevada Block
- 84A. Nevada Bank
85. Bohemian Club
86. Art Association
87. Real Estate Association
88. Pacific Stock Exchange
89. Cosmopolitan Hotel
90. Chinese Quarter
91. Barbary Coast
92. Michael Reese
93. Leland Stanford Stable
94. Alec Bedlam
95. St. Mary's Cathedral
96. Grace Cathedral
97. J. Barron
98. Russ House
99. Alameda
100. Rincon Poor House
101. Shot Tower
102. Machine Shops & Mills
103. S.F. Gas Works
104. Union Foundry
- 104A. Golden Gate Mills
105. Selden Block
106. Head and Morton Block
107. Occidental Hotel
108. D. O. Mills Block
109. Masonic Hall
110. Thurlow Block
111. Academy Building
112. Platt's Hall
113. Pacific Hall
114. California Theater
115. Sam Watson
116. Leland Stanford Residence
117. Grand Hotel
- 117A. White House
118. Morton House
119. Palace Hotel
120. P.M.S.S. Wharf
- 120A. J. B. Roberts
- 120B. W. A. Piper
121. John Harrott
122. Milton S. Latham
123. S. Mary's Hospital
124. Mission St. Wharf
125. C.P.R.R. Offices
126. Methodist Church
127. Nucleus Hotel
128. Centre Market
129. Girls' High School
130. Dashaway Hall
131. Union Hall
132. Southern Pacific Railway
133. St. Patrick's Church
134. Bancroft Block
135. Starr King Church
136. Jewish Synagogue
137. Grand Opera House
138. Mechanic's Institute
139. Colored Church
140. Hamman Baths
141. Red Men's Hall
142. Horticultural Hall
143. Hunters Point Drydock
144. South S.F.
145. Rolling Mills
146. Mission Bay
147. Sugar Refinery
148. Catholic Orphan Ass'n.
149. Gold & Silver Refinery
150. Lincoln School
151. U.S. Mint
152. Baldwin Hotel & Theater
153. St. Ignatius College
154. St. Anne's Block
155. Trinity Church
156. Military Div. of Pac.
157. German Church
158. Union Square
159. Calvary Church
160. Union St. Baptist Church
161. Dr. Stone's Church
162. Lutheran Church
163. W. S. O'Brien
164. San Miguel Mountains
165. Bernal Heights
166. Industrial School
167. Mission
168. Industrial Pavilion
169. Hall of Records
170. New City Hall
171. Woodward's Garden
172. Tabernacle
173. First Baptist Church
174. Convent Sacred Heart
175. Presbyterian Church
176. Congdon's Block
177. J. C. Duncan
178. Post St. Synagogue
179. H. Barroilhet
180. Dr. Scott's Church
181. Geo. S. Ladd
182. L. S. Adams
183. Eugene Sullivan
184. D. J. Oliver
185. Mission Hills
186. Protestant Orphan Asylum
187. Jesuit College
188. Robt. C. Johnson
189. McAllister St. School
190. J. W. Burling
191. Ben Peart
192. I. M. Sachs
193. Levi Strauss
194. Mark Hopkins
195. Thos. Young
196. James Otis
197. D. J. Tallant
198. Horace Davis
199. Thos. Brown
200. Com. O'Sullivan
201. C. Adolphe Low
202. Ladies Protection Relief
203. Catholic Cemetery
204. Lone Mountain
205. Hyde St. School
206. Fred McCrellish
207. F. H. Woods
208. J. R. Jarboe
209. W. H. Richards
210. Geo. Barstow
211. A. Bore
212. Gen'l Hawes
213. W. W. Shaw
214. D. Cook
215. Robt. Morrow
216. E. F. Hall
217. Laurel Hill Cemetery
218. E. J. Bachman
219. O. F. Giffin
220. John Taylor
221. G. B. Knowles
222. R. Tobin
223. W. W. Wiggins
224. L. B. Benchley
225. Dentman School
226. Mark Hopkins





PORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA-STREET HILL

KEY.

MUNYBIDGE

AN SEAVE MARINE ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING

PHOTOGRAPHER

PHOTOGRAPHER: GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST

GOVERNMENT OF THE VIENNA EXHIBITION 1874

RECOGNITION OF COURAGE, DEDICATION AND A+ MANUFACTURING

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS: GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS: GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS: GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST

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PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS: GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS: GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST





Muybridge photographed Market Street which was rapidly becoming the city's main commercial artery.

and women trying to make their fortunes, as well as derelicts who still hoped that overnight success was possible in the city that had blessed so many. The year 1877 was a hard one, with weekly suicides noted in the newspapers, but San Franciscans of indomitable spirit kept on building toward their golden dream. This was the city whose surface Muybridge captured a century ago, a city of flamboyant architecture, Darwinian power struggles, and expansive hopes. In the 1850's a man had been measured by his ability, how he used his brain, and a social Darwinism in which the strongest became the wealthiest without class distinction, but by the 1870's social orders were well established, and wealth determined status and capacity to fulfill private fancies.

For those who had made their fortunes, there was no limit to what money could buy. The wealthy, who chose Rincon Hill in the fifties and sixties, now built grand mansions on the California Street Hill such as the Italianate villa of David Colton, (Plate 1:8/9), a white, wood

imitation of a marble palazzo, with Corinthian pilasters and pediments on each window.

(Throughout this article a system of horizontal and vertical coordinates identifies buildings and objects under discussion on the eleven-plate 1877 panorama. For example, to find the Colton villa at "Plate 1:8/9," turn to Plate 1 and intersect a line drawn through 8 on the horizontal scale with a line through 9 on the vertical scale. The numbers refer to centimeter distances on the original panorama. Muybridge's key, reproduced on pages 132-133, will also be of assistance in locating sites.)

The mood of the builders of the seventies is most marked by the yet-unfinished Crocker mansion (Plate 1:4/12), in front of which we can see the contractors working on the granite fence, wide stairs, and freshly terraced grounds of this mansarded monument to successful railroad building. On the northeast corner of Crocker's lot, between the Colton and Crocker manses, is a strange board structure that came to be known as the

Spite Fence in one of San Francisco's most bizarre imbroglios.

When Charles Crocker was buying up the Jones-Sacramento-Taylor-California block on which he planned to build, only one man refused to sell. Nicholas Yung, a partner in the Craig, Golden and Yung Funeral Parlor, had bought the lot on Sacramento in the '50's, and built a small pleasant home in the '60's. At the time he had few neighbors because the steep access quickly tired carriage horses. By 1876, however, he held a piece of property that even Charles Crocker coveted. When Crocker offered Yung \$6,000 or a property trade, he countered with a \$9,000 demand. Crocker finally agreed to the \$9,000 price, but Yung then insisted that he never asked less than \$12,000.² Warning Yung against raising his price Crocker threatened to build a forty-foot-tall fence around Yung's home. Understandably, Yung felt he had the right to ask a larger amount, knowing that Crocker could well afford the price. Crocker, however, believed the \$12,000 price absurd, so he erected a \$3,000 fence, closed off the Yungs' view of the city on three sides—as well as light and air—and gave newspaper editors and cartoonists good material for months.³ San Francisco chuckled at first, but the humor disappeared in the fall of 1877 when labor leader Dennis Kearney led a mob to the fence for a rally. There the "Cicero of the Sandlots" attacked the Central Pacific Railroad leaders and other industrialists for importing cheap Chinese labor and denounced Crocker, pointing out that the fence was just one more affront to the poor, an example of how far the rich would go. Kearney gave Crocker thirty days to tear down the fence, threatening that on Thanksgiving Day workmen would march up Nob Hill and remove it themselves. The mob never made good on the threat.⁴

The fence stayed, and Yung moved his house to a lot on Broderick. In an interview he claimed that he still considered himself "good friends" with Crocker but that Crocker "thought he was going to have his own way

because he was Charles Crocker, but money was no object to me so we couldn't agree." He concluded that the lot was not for sale "at any price."⁵ Crocker later lowered the lavender-color fence to twenty feet to keep it from being knocked over by high winds, but both Yung and Crocker died without resolving the fence. Mrs. Rosina Yung sold the lot to a realtor in 1894,⁶ but the fence remained until the turn of the century. The Crocker family eventually acquired the lot and donated the entire block, which had been leveled by the fire and earthquake of 1906, to Grace Cathedral which today covers the ground once occupied by one of San Francisco's most splendid residences.

The seventies saw many new-money families build on the California Street Hill, as men met with overnight financial success and wished to express it in their homes. San Francisco always seemed just a step away from another millionaire, but only the cleverest of the entrepreneurs stayed rich. Most made and lost fortunes in mining speculation on the Comstock.

San Francisco, the second home of many of Virginia City's residents, was as closely tied to Nevada silver production in the seventies as to gold placers in the fifties. One journalist visiting the city was struck by the profusion of get-rich-quick schemes, real estate deals, and, above all, trade of Comstock shares. Seemingly everyone from bankers to waitresses bought stock and expectantly watched the daily papers in hopes of finding the signal to buy or sell which would score a financial coup. The correspondent noted that even a shoeshine boy wanted to check his paper for a stock quotation on a Nevada mining company.⁷

Because of the speculative nature of the mining business, the silver barons began a step down on the social pyramid from the railroad society, a group which was second only to the McLanes, Hagginses, and Tevises.⁸ The Palace Hotel (Plate 7:120/11), complete with its "rising rooms" or elevators, was built by bonanza-king William Ralston through his position at the Bank of

California, and the hostelry exemplifies the kind of luxury to which wealthy San Franciscans were becoming accustomed. By the 1870's silver kings were buying their way into society at such a rate that when Ralston drowned on Black Friday, the day his bank failed, the entire city mourned his loss.

When Muybridge published the panorama in July of 1877, a scandal was breaking at the United States Mint (Plate 8:148/12) concerning the disappearance of large quantities of precious metal and the minting of underweight coins. Westerners shunned the greenbacks, merchants preferring double eagles and silver dollars to the easy-to-pilfer bills.⁹

San Francisco offered the widest choice of entertainment and pleasure palaces in which to spend the proceeds of innumerable professions, from the Palace Hotel, the temporary abode of kings and millionaires, to the unparalleled Barbary Coast (Plate 4:68-70/10-9), with its world-famous saloons, dives, bagnios, opium dens, and melodeons. Described in eastern papers as a sink of moral pollution, the Barbary Coast was reputedly the "haunt of the low and vile of every kind." "Dancehalls and concert-saloons, where bleary-eyed men and faded women drink vile liquor, smoke offensive tobacco, engage in vulgar conduct, sing obscene songs and say and do everything to heap upon themselves more degradation,"¹⁰ were condemned often and vociferously. In typical Victorian fashion, San Franciscans passed legislation to control the vice but winked at half-hearted attempts to enforce the laws. By the seventies, in fact, the cream of society sought the night life in brothels and gaming houses of the Upper Tenderloin (Plates 7 and 8), thereby reserving the Barbary Coast for the working-class, tourists, and thrill-seekers.

A city ordinance passed in 1876 forbade the presence of any female in a drinking cellar or saloon between the hours of 6 P.M. and 6 A.M. The law was ineffective, if it ever intended to be enforced, and the melodeons and saloons of the Barbary Coast ran unchecked. Certainly,

too, the law was not meant to apply outside the limits of the Barbary Coast. When a hapless policeman made the mistake of raiding the high-class Tivoli Gardens and arresting a number of ladies, he found himself the target of a full investigation by the police commission for insulting the ladies involved.¹¹

Newspaper editors of the 1870's regularly denounced the heinous crimes found on the Barbary Coast. Editorial campaigns against many forms of Victorian lowlife sometimes resulted in suits for libel, but an editor more often had to defend himself physically, as when Charles de Young was attacked at Leidesdorff and Clay by one John Duane because of an article referring to Duane as a "squatter" (one who would even commit murder for money.)¹²

Readers in 1877 eagerly waited publication of their favorite tabloid to find the latest gossip news and fashion notes. The ladies' section of the Sunday paper offered advice on how to be a gracious belle, and letters to the paper reflected a concern among ladies regarding whether or not an intellectual and opinionated young woman could be socially acceptable to eligible bachelors. Lace mitts which matched ladies' dresses were in vogue in 1877, but, while newspapers offered suggestions on how to clean the multibuttoned gloves, humorists suggested that gloves ought to be selected to match the color of the food to be eaten rather than the dress to be worn.¹³

Monday was the traditional wash day in San Francisco, and numerous houses in the Muybridge panorama display laundry hanging out to dry. The photographer, in fact, caught a woman taking down the wash on the back porch of a home on the southwest corner of Sacramento and Cushman streets (Plate 2:20/9). She is one of the few people that appear in the panorama since the relatively long exposure time required of the plates (about 6 seconds) made anyone who moved appear as a blur or disappear altogether.

With Alcatraz Island (Plate 3:43/14) and its military post in the distance, San Francisco in 1877 still evidenced



Muybridge posed a group of Sunday pleasure seekers at the sailboat ride in Woodward's fantastic gardens.



Muybridge photographed himself "dozing" in the art gallery at Woodward's Gardens on Mission Street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth.

its recent rural past. In the foreground of Plate 3, a half-dozen cows and chickens are kept in a corral on California near Mason. Everyone, of course, kept their horses in the basement, but in 1877 the future site of the Fairmont Hotel was a milk farm, and agrarian America still rubbed shoulders with millionaires, even on Nob Hill.

That railroad barons unabashedly demonstrated their wealth can be evidenced by Leland Stanford's stables (Plate 5:82/2) which were bigger than most houses. As each residence arose grander than the last, the California Street Hill became a showplace of Victorian architecture. The Stanford house chimney (Plate 6, foreground) is barely visible from the unfinished tower of the Hopkins residence where Muybridge stood to photograph the panorama. In front of the Hopkins house on California Street (Plates 1 and 2), workmen obligingly paused amid the construction rubble while Muybridge exposed his plate.

Looking down California Street, the California Pacific Railroad wharf on San Francisco Bay (Plate 5:88/12) is

framed out to accommodate an addition, expansion necessary to accommodate its merger with the Northern Railway. The docks are lined with river steamers and ferries, mostly sidewheelers that plied the Bay and river in an era that depended on shipping for connections with other Bay cities.

Looking around the city we see that saloons, corner markets, and liquor stores abound in 1877, and many a young man was sent to the corner saloon carrying a bucket for father's evening beer ration. On Market Street, which was rapidly becoming the city's main commercial artery, business signs show the prosperity of a variety of enterprises despite the panic of 1873 and bank failures of 1875 which had wiped out a number of older businesses.

Beyond the new Hall of Records and City Hall under construction (Plate 9:168/13) lies Woodward's Gardens. An entertainment center for all classes of San Franciscans, the garden boasted, among other attractions, a roller skating rink. When roller skating was first introduced, it was looked on as improper, but with Lilly Hitchcock Coit leading the way, San Francisco's finest soon followed suit. By 1877 even the best of society crowded the rinks, men and women alike.¹⁴

This first venture by Eadweard Muybridge to capture panoramic San Francisco also reveals remarkable detail of period architecture (see Plates 9 and 10). Italianate row houses, mansarded roofs, iron cresting, and palm trees, for example, seem to be popular along Pine and Bush, west of Powell. The plates also reveal a conformity of architecture (and absence of skyscrapers) that is striking to the modern viewer. The wood frame houses of the fifties have been replaced by the more substantial row houses, and as the seventies progressed, more elaborate Victorian stick-style and Italianate houses appeared everywhere. Empty lots such as the one at the corner of Taylor and Pine (Plate 10:192/8) were a constant source of annoyance to residents because drift sand blew off and accumulated on the door steps and sidewalks.

Plate I

15 —

10 —

5 —



1

10

Plate 2

15—

10—

5—



20

30

Plate 3



Plate 4

15 —

10 —

5 —



60

70

Plate 5



80

90

Plate 6



Plate 7



— 15

— 10

— 5

Plate 8

15 —

10 —

5 —



140

150

146

Plate 9



Plate 10

15 —

10 —

5 —

180

190



ate II



— 15

— 10

— 5

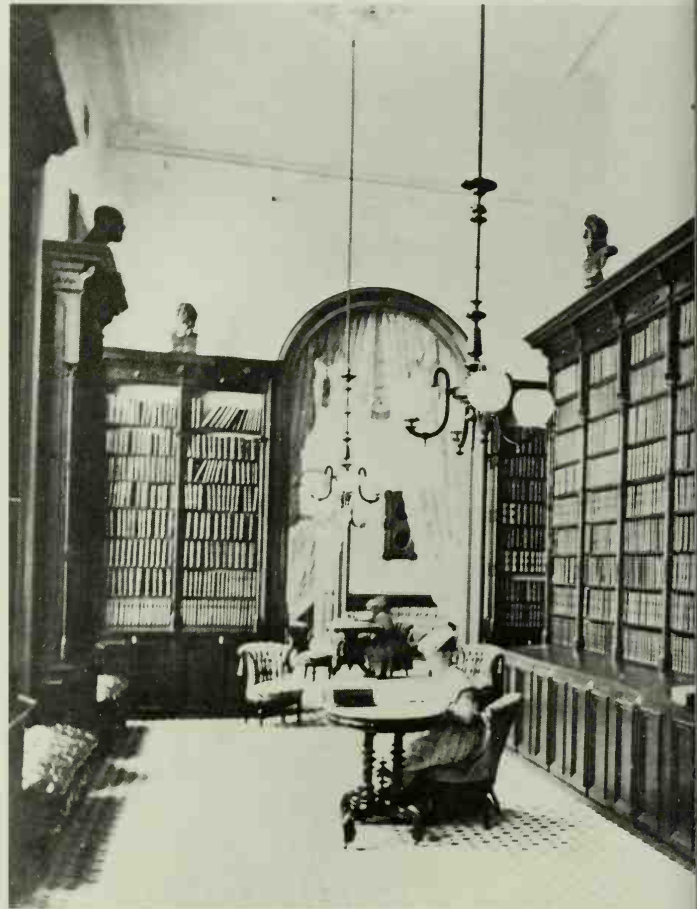
The Masonic ceremony accompanying the laying of the cornerstone of San Francisco's City Hall in 1872 attracted crowds of spectators, many of whom registered only as blurs in Muybridge's long exposure.

Concerts were held at the Mercantile Library, which boasted both a men's and ladies' reading room. Muybridge photographed the latter for the curious who could not afford the members' fee.

Less than a year after publishing his first panorama, Muybridge produced a second San Francisco panorama on mammoth 20" x 24" plates. At first glance the 1877 and 1878 views look identical, but upon closer examination many changes in the city are apparent. The California Street wire railroad was completed, and the new boardwalks between Powell and Stockton, finished in February, 1878,¹⁵ are adorned with elaborate hitching posts and planter boxes (see Plate 5 [1878]).

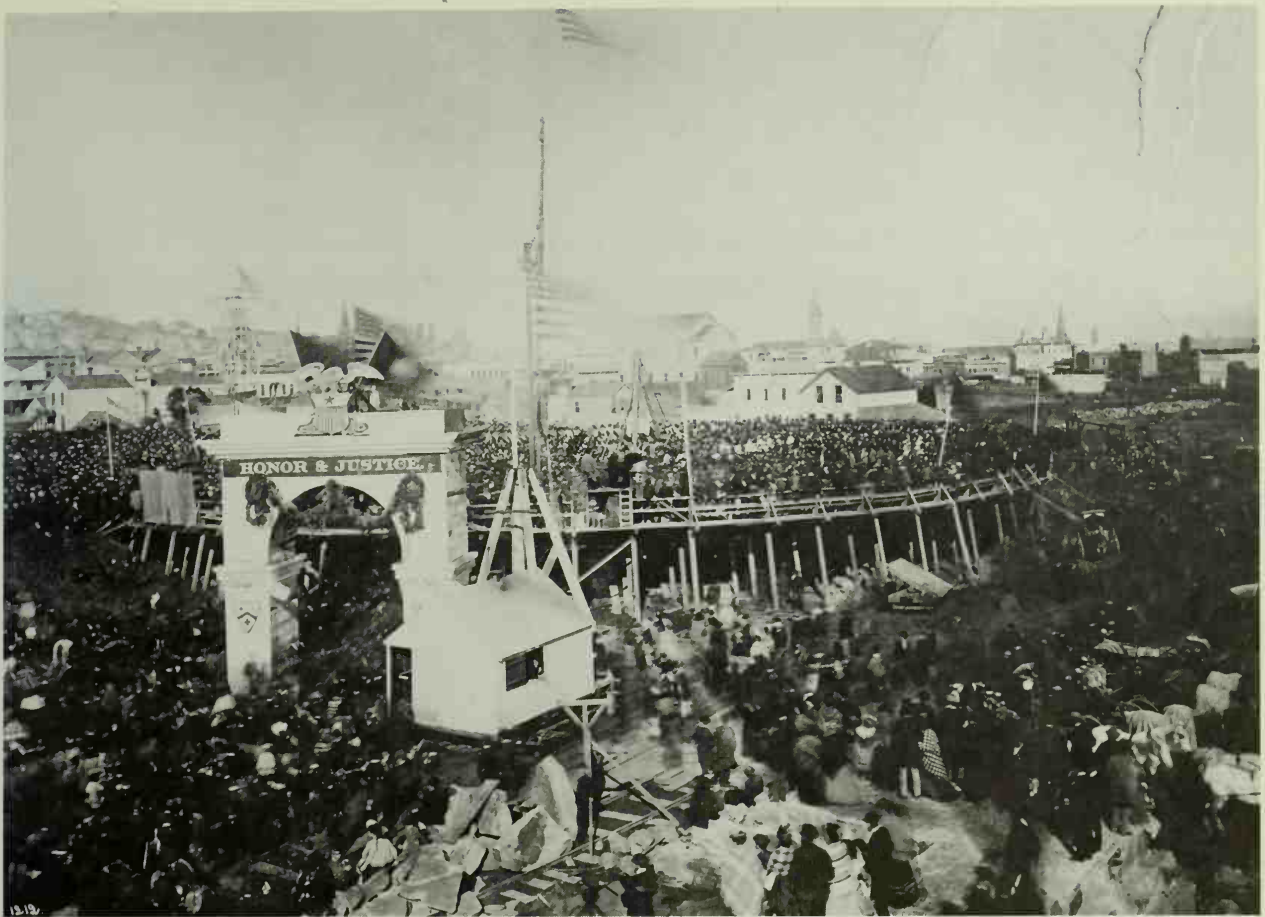
At the time of this later panorama, the California Street Railroad was in operation, as evidenced by a car coming up the hill (visible with magnifying glass at the left edge of Plate 6 [1878]). Although originally scheduled to open in 1877, the line's first cable went unlaidd until January, 1878. Torrential rains in late January seriously washed out the Powell-to-Kearney section, and the second cable could not be installed until March 9, 1878.¹⁶ While the construction problems were being fought by the workgangs, Stanford's cable railroad engaged in another kind of fight with the North Beach and Mission Railroad over the right of way from the foot of California to Market Street. The dispute was supposed to be settled in the courts, but in the late afternoon on February 10, the North Beach and Mission obtained a minor court judgment in their favor. That same night, its work gangs tore up the cobblestone and Nicholson-block pavement and laid its rails during the night before the courts opened the next day, thereby denying the California Street Railroad the opportunity to obtain an injunction. North Beach and Mission Railroad officials sanctimoniously contended that the night work was necessary to prevent traffic jams at a busy intersection.¹⁷

When the California Street Railroad opened informally on April 11, 1878, the rails stopped short of Market Street, forcing passengers to walk or transfer to a horse-car to reach the ferry. The wire railroad continued to have legal problems, because as soon as its cars began running, problems erupted with teamsters who



often blocked the tracks while unloading wagons on the busy street. Even more right-of-way litigation resulted.¹⁸

In 1878, the year of Muybridge's second panorama, San Francisco was a cultural city that hosted opera, theater, and popular entertainers. The Emerson Opera House at 318 Bush, for example, retained what would have been a "high-class" act for that theater, the Swedish Lady Quartet which opened on May 12.¹⁹ Fresh from the East, the quartet was advertised all over town, as can



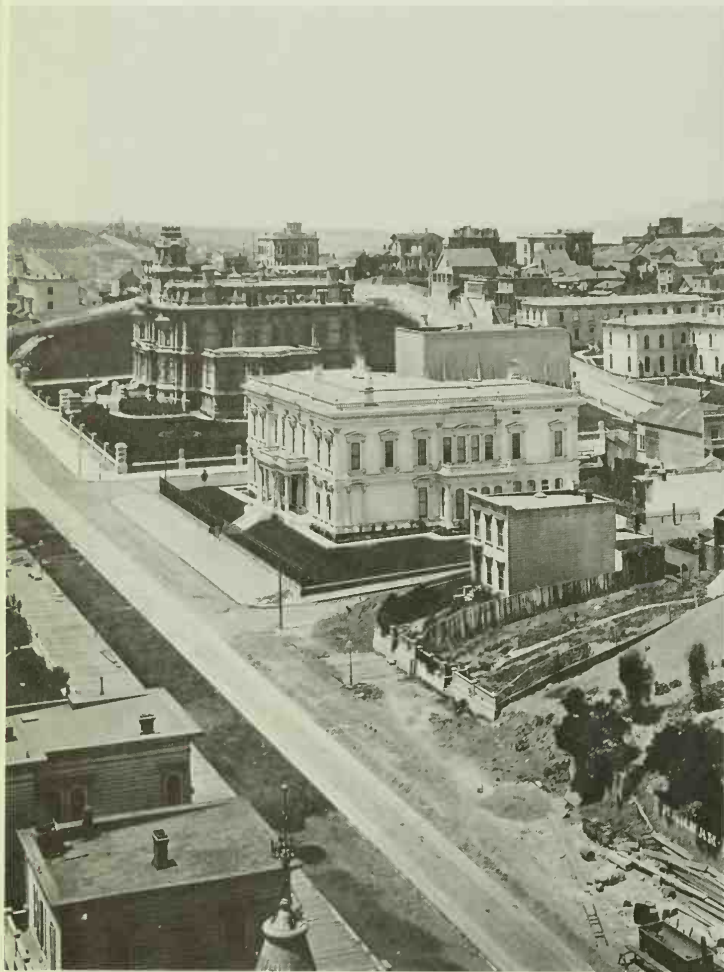
be seen with a magnifying glass from the billboards at the corner of Jones and Market and also California and Stockton (see Plate 5 [1878]). Another visitor was the popular Shakespearean actor Lawrence Barrett, who came to reopen William Ralston's California Theatre which had been temporarily closed in a management dispute. Arriving in the city May 20, Barrett registered at the Occidental Hotel and performed on stage the same night. For some reason Barrett received only scant reviews which did not reflect the grandiose hopes expressed by the advertisement painted on the huge fence behind the Commercial Hotel²⁰ (see Plate 4 [1878]).

San Francisco established a literary interest quite early in its history, and everyone, it seems, read copiously. As early as 1856 there were as many as thirteen daily, thirteen weekly, and seven foreign language newspapers. The Mercantile Library, begun in 1853, had relocated to the north side of Bush between Montgomery and

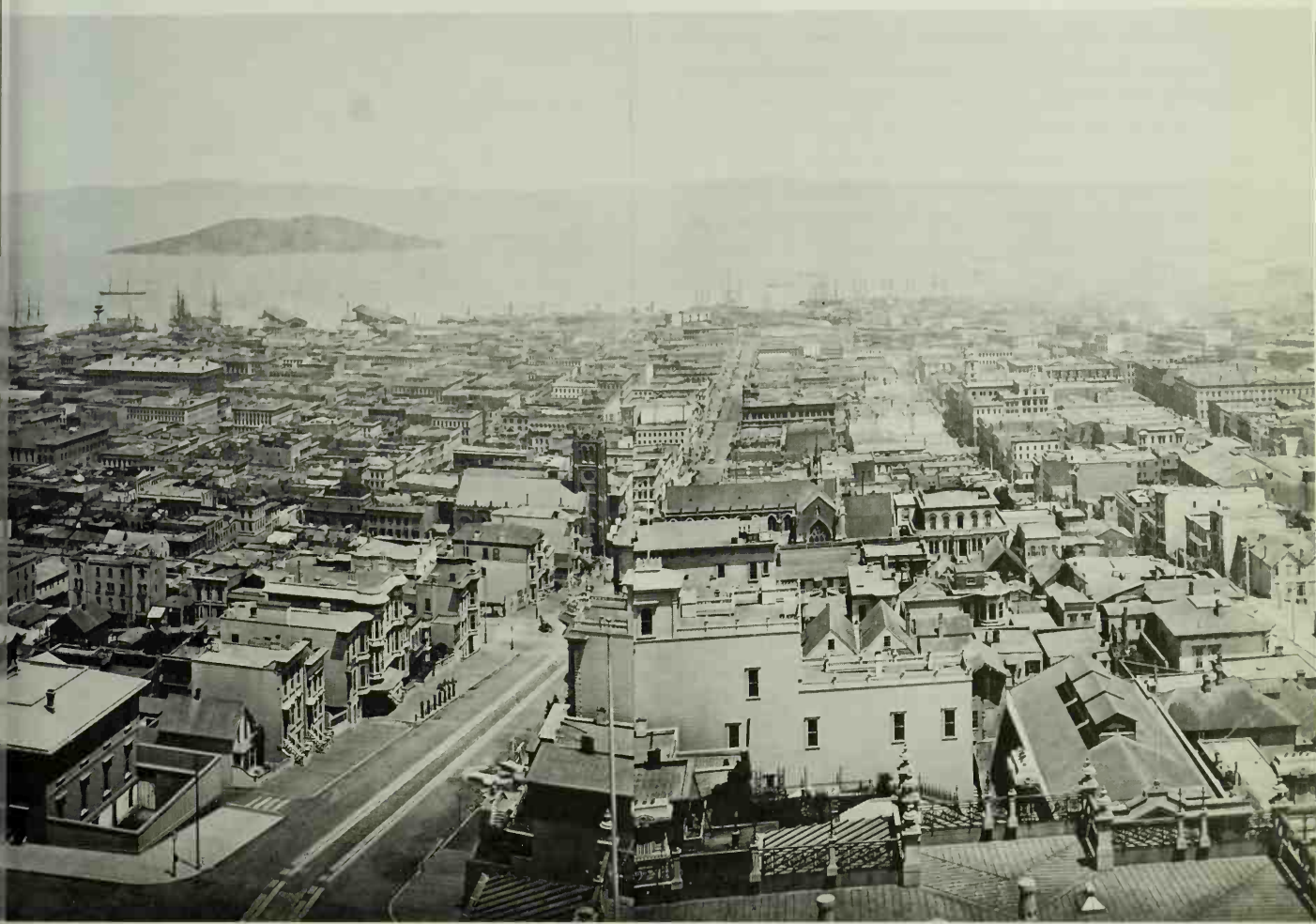
Sansome streets in 1868. The library often held "gift concerts" to raise funds, and one was given May 24, 1878, by the Swedish Lady Quartet which sang in the Library Hall following its Emerson Theater engagement.²¹ The library, which merged with the Mechanics Institute in 1876, boasted both a men's and a ladies' reading room for which members paid a \$12 annual use fee—no small sum in 1878. (The fee today is about the same.)

The city patronized all the arts including photography, and when Muybridge offered his incredible and innovative photographs for sale at Morse's Fine Arts Gallery, people praised them for their artistic value. A century later they convey a veracity and immediacy which no writer can portray. The details of the panorama remain fascinating. Each look at the photographs reveals something new in the remarkable city that was still serving a free lunch in the best saloons.

Four plates from Muybridge's 1878 panorama, corresponding to Plates 1, 4, 5, and 6 of the 1877 panorama.



View of San Francisco



One of the most perplexing things today about the Muybridge panoramas is the exact dates when the photographs were taken. However, by searching the photographs for physical evidence and correlating it with newspapers, annual reports, and deeds, and by examining the shadow lengths and direction, a remarkably accurate determination can be made as to the time of year and date the panoramas were made.

Several people have already written about one or both of these panoramas in larger works on Muybridge, but some discrepancies have occurred. In 1967, Ann Redl, a Wells Fargo technical writer, suggested that the first panorama was originally taken on a Monday in January, 1877.²² Her contention was that the Crockers occupied their new house (Plate 1-4/12) by Christmas, 1876.²³ She argued that because the mansion "had been completed only a short time before this Muybridge photograph" and because "curtains graced the windows,"²⁴ the first panorama must have been shot in January, 1877. Monday was suggested as the day of the photograph from the amount of laundry visible in the photo.²⁵

In 1975 Gordon Hendricks criticized Redl's argument in his book, *Eadweard Muybridge—The Father of Motion Pictures*:

The Monday idea rests on no more secure basis than the fact that *someone has hung out a wash*; and the January idea on the angle of the sun, which is *low in the South*. But I have been told by an authority that even given precise longitude and latitude, the shadows are insufficient to pinpoint the time of year. Even the time of day for the fifth panel from the left, the one containing St. Mary's Church, has been given—9:10 A.M. The church clock does show this time of day, but *it has not been established whether or not the clock was working*. A careful search of newspapers has failed to disclose the exact progress of the construction of the Crocker or Hopkins house which might be conclusive [italics added].²⁶

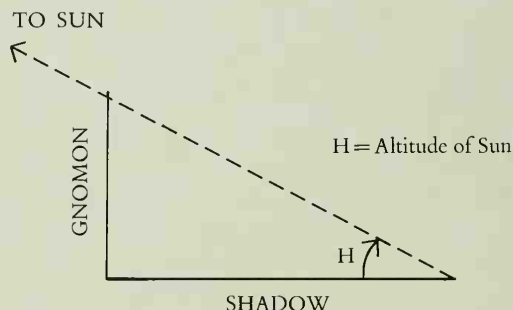
Another study, Robert Haas' *Muybridge, Man in Motion* (1976), reports only that "in early January of 1877, he [Muybridge] set up a camera using 8 x 10 inch plates and photographed the full sweep of the city."²⁷

SHADOW DATING

An observer describes the position of a celestial object in the "horizon" system of coordinates by specifying its *altitude* and *azimuth*. Altitude is the angular distance of the object above the horizon measured along the vertical circle. Azimuth is the true direction of the object, measured clockwise from North. When the object of interest is the sun, altitude and azimuth may be determined from shadow observations.

When these quantities cannot be directly measured, as in a photograph which has not been rectified or corrected for the distortions of camera and perspective, it is probably more accurate to determine altitude of the sun by estimating the ratio of *shadow length to the height* of the gnomon (object) casting the shadow, and to determine azimuth by estimating the relative angle the shadow makes with a street or building side lying in a known direction. The combination of altitude and azimuth at a known location completely determines an astronomical triangle.

Reference: Moore, CDR H. R., Bureau of Naval Personnel, *A Navigation Compendium*, NAVPERS 10494, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1966.



Haas fails to state how he determined that date, although it is possible he simply accepted Redl's dating. Finally, Kevin MacDonnell, in his book *Eadweard Muybridge, The Man Who Invented Motion Pictures* (1972), placed a later date on the photographs, suggesting that "in the early summer of 1877 he [Muybridge] succeeded in the ambitious project of taking a panoramic view of San Francisco using sixteen 20" x 24" plates."²⁸

All of these authors, I believe, erred in some critical



The church clock on this alternate Plate 5 (1878) marks a later hour in the day, indicating that the clock was indeed keeping time.

aspects. Although the Crocker Mansion does appear in an unfinished state and although curtains are plainly visible in its windows, suggesting that the mansion was quite likely occupied, these facts alone do not prove the January date. Furthermore, the angle of the sun is not low in the south (as Hendricks argued), but quite near the summer solstice, as can be judged from shadow dating which, contrary to Hendricks' opinion, is a sophisticated and accurate science. Plates 1, 5, and 10 show shadows which are less than one-quarter as long as the object casting the shadow. This indicates that the sun is near the summer solstice (the shorter the shadow, the higher the sun in the sky) and, most important, that the shadows are very close to the minimum possible length for this latitude, thereby reducing error in estimation. Consequently, the shadows in the photographs indicate that they could not have been taken before May 23 nor after July 23. Furthermore, because the panorama was published July 13, the possible dates must fall between May 23 and July 12, thereby eliminating most of July.

In Plate 5 it is also possible to observe the hands on the tower clock (Plate 5:95/9), seemingly reliable indicators

which have added confusion because of the difficulty in distinguishing the hour hand from the minute hand. Because the sunlight is falling on the *western* face of the clock tower, the clock shows the afternoon time of 1:44 P.M., not 9:10 A.M. as Hendricks and Redl have suggested. Hendricks additionally raised the question, "Is the clock working?" but Muybridge himself provided proof that such was the case because some copies of the panorama contain a Plate 5 showing the time on the clock as 4:28 P.M. We know that this alternate Plate 5 was shot the same day not only because the shadows correlate, but because the same ships are at anchor in the Bay in the same positions, albeit slightly shifted on the tide. Then, too, the pile of lumber visible on California Street between Powell and Stockton is the same, offering further correlation that the two panels were shot on the same day. That same plate showing a later time on the clock checks with the approximate shadow time of Plates 8 and 9 in which the shadows, though obviously late in the day, are barely 1.9 times as long as the object casting the shadow, again indicating a mid-June photograph.

Additional research reveals that the date of the completion of the Crocker Mansion, on which earlier dating of the panorama was based, is incorrect. On June 10, 1877, a *San Francisco Chronicle* article reported that in describing the progress of the residence of Charles Crocker who is *just installed* in his handsome house on Nob Hill, the grounds as yet are in an unfinished condition. There is a splendid system of terraces laid out, and massive stone walls *are being constructed* on the Taylor, California and Sacramento Street sides. These *will be* ornamented with polished granite posts, splendid iron fences, and lamp-posts [italics added].²⁹

Again, when the Crockers celebrated their Silver Wedding Anniversary in November, 1877, the *Chronicle* described the finished mansion as having been "occupied only about five months."³⁰ It would therefore seem that both shadow dating and newspaper accounts disprove conclusively Redl's and Haas' contention that the

*Roughly visible in this detail of Plate 4
of the 1878 panorama is a billboard
advertising the appearance of Shakespearean
actor Lawrence Barrett.*

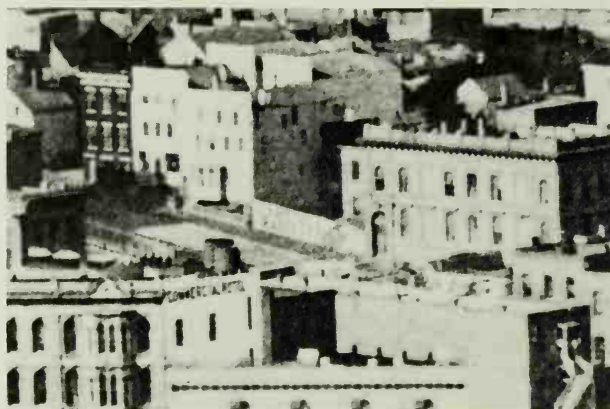
panorama was photographed in January.

That the photographs were taken on a Monday seems plausible, because laundry hung to dry in early morning would be taken in by mid-afternoon, and only some two dozen yards evidence laundry hanging late in the day when the photographs were taken. MacDonnell was quite close in choosing an early summer date (even though he incorrectly stated the size and number of plates used). A date between June 10 and July 3 would be most likely, because the shadows (as in Plate 5) are so close to the minimum possible length for San Francisco's latitude ($37^{\circ} 47.5'$ north) that room for error is substantially reduced. This date would closely correspond with Muybridge's first public announcement of his work on July 13, 1877.

As for the second panorama, a similar dating error occurs in the literature which may be resolved by shadow dating and coordination of events and buildings. Gordon Hendricks suggested October or November of 1877 as the date the second panorama was photographed, based on the existence of the California Street Railroad tracks which were laid by November of 1877 and the photographer's tiny inscription, "1877", on the chimney of the fourth house to the left of Stanford's stables on Powell Street (see Plate 4 [1878]).

Robert Haas states that two editions of the second panorama were made, one in November, 1877, and one in April, 1878. The November, 1877, photo, he writes, shows "two landmarks that had not appeared in the first: the existence of the California Street cable car line and the celebrated Spite Fence."³¹ The Spite Fence, however, is plainly visible in the first panorama, having been built in the summer of 1876.

While it is true that the cable car tracks were laid by November, 1877, the cable itself was not installed until March, 1878, and the second panorama was thus taken after that date because it shows a cable car coming up the hill (Plates 6 and 7 [1878]). Complete with elaborate hitching posts and flower boxes, the sidewalks on Cali-



fornia Street between Powell and Stockton were not finished until February, 1878. Most significant are the scattered billboard advertisements for actor Lawrence Barrett's appearance on May 19 and for the Swedish Lady Quartet's program on May 12 which appear in the panorama, dated notices suggesting that the month of the photo was May, 1878. The photographs were probably not taken as early as April because Muybridge would not be likely to call on Mrs. Hopkins and request to use her home as a vantage point for his camera while she was still in mourning for her husband who had died suddenly on March 29.³² A date after the middle of May is probable because the first newspaper item about Mrs. Hopkins, which noted her filing a petition for appointment as administrator of the property of her husband, who had died intestate, appeared in the paper on May 17, indicating that she was once again in the public eye. It is known, too, that Muybridge himself was in the city to present a display of his illuminated photographs of Central America at an art exhibition on May 15 and 18. On the other end of the calendar, the photo could not be taken after the third week of July because the roof of Yung's house is still visible behind Crocker's Spite Fence (see Plate 1 [1878]). Yung had the house removed to Broderick Street the last week of July,

1878.³³ The fact that the year 1877 was written on the photo quite probably was an attempt by Muybridge to use his earlier copyright to protect the second edition. It reflects the heated competition among photographers of the day to produce commercially profitable works. Careful examination of the shadows in the second panorama suggests that it was shot no earlier than mid-May and no later than the end of July, with a date of July 1 to July 12, 1878, being the most likely. This correlates quite well with the physical evidence visible in the picture.

Why all this effort to ascertain the exact date of an old photograph? Muybridge panoramas are neither casual snapshots nor are they true art, even though they are superbly executed. The photos are a history, and like any written history, they need to be examined closely. Twice in less than twelve months Muybridge etched the external character of the city on his huge glass plates. Now, a century later, we can explore in loving detail the physiognomy of the city at a particular instant in time. But what instant? At what exact point in the life course of the city did Muybridge freeze the reflected sun from those buildings, roads, and people that were San Francisco? The more we know about the era, the better we can "read" the contents of these panoramas. The more intently we look at the marvelous panels, the better we can see the character of a city long since vanished and yet still alive through the historical records left by the people who became the past.

The four 1878 panorama plates are courtesy The Glow of Ages. All other photographs are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 15, 1877.
2. *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, August 24, 26, 1876.
3. *The Wasp*, September 30, 1876; *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, August 26, 1876; *Thistleton's Jolly Giant*, July 17, 1880.

4. *San Francisco Daily Chronicle*, October 30, 1877.
5. *Amelia Neville Scrapbook*, California Historical Society collection, newsclipping, p. 51, April 25, 1878; p. 55, July 27, 1878.
6. San Francisco Hall of Records, General Index of Deeds, #166, Rosina Yung to William Peters, Deed Book 1607, p. 153, April 11, 1894.
7. *New York Times*, July 12, 1877, p. 3.
8. *New York Times*, November 26, 1876, p. 10; December 3, 1876, p. 10; December 15, 1876, p. 7.
9. *New York Times*, November 12, 1876, p. 1; April 26, 1878, p. 1.
10. Benjamin Estelle Lloyd, *Lights and Shades* (San Francisco, 1876).
11. *San Francisco Call*, January 29, February 9, 1877.
12. *Daily Call*, October 22, 1876. Nineteenth-century jargon was varied and colorful. This issue of the *Call* carried a notice about 300 "Sydney flats" offered by a local auction house, which turned out to be a luggage sale on 300 suitcases.
13. Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, *The Spectacular San Franciscans* (New York, 1949), p. 193.
14. Altrocchi, *Spectacular San Franciscans*, p. 182.
15. *San Francisco Annual Report 1878*, Superintendent of Public Streets and Highways, p. 145.
16. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1878, p. 3; February 12, 1878, p. 3.
17. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 11, 1878, p. 3; April 20, 1878, p. 1; May 8, 1878, p. 4; May 11, 1878, p. 1.
18. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 20, 1878, p. 1; May 8, 1878, p. 4; May 11, 1878, p. 1.
19. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1878, p. 2; May 16, 1878, p. 4.
20. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1878, p. 2; May 16, 1878, p. 4; May 21, 1878, p. 3.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1878, p. 3.
22. Ann Harlow Redl, *Panorama of San Francisco From California Street Hill* by Eadweard Muybridge 1877 (San Francisco, 1971), p. 1.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
26. Gordon Hendericks, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of Motion Picture* (New York, 1975), p. 94.
27. Haas, Robert B., *Muybridge, Man in Motion* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 84.
28. MacDonnell, Kevin, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Man Who Invented the Motion Picture* (Boston, 1972).
29. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 10, 1877.
30. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1877, Neville Scrapbook 412.
31. Haas, *Muybridge*, p. 86.
32. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 30, 1878, May 18, 1878, p. 4.
33. *Neville Scrapbook 46*, California Historical Society collection, 1874-82, p. 55-56.

CHARLES DWIGHT WILLARD

LOS ANGELES' "CITIZEN FIXIT"

City Booster and Progressive Reformer

A figure of central if obscured importance in the growth of Los Angeles from small town to large metropolis was Charles Dwight Willard. Failing as an independent businessman, Willard carved for himself a successful career in city boosting and political reform. A prolific writer, a skilled journalist, and an active force behind most of Los Angeles' progressive organizations and publications, Willard remains almost forgotten by historians of California and the early-twentieth-century progressive period. His career nonetheless sheds considerable new light on the close ties between promotion and reform in Los Angeles and the development of the city's progressive power elite.

Willard became a permanent resident of Los Angeles in 1888. A frail, bespectacled, twenty-eight-year-old expatriate consumptive from Chicago, he arrived with little money, a good education acquired at the University of Michigan, and limited experience as a newspaper reporter.

Willard settled in Southern California just after its greatest economic boom had collapsed. Jobs were scarce, and with persistence he eked out a meager existence writing articles for several local newspapers. His financial plight, he admitted to his sister, was reflected in the political dexterity of his editorials:

Today, for example, in the role of a liberal Republican I shall view with alarm (in the *Times*) the effort to foist Blaine on the party. Tomorrow (in the *Herald*) I shall haw-haw with glee over the contortions of the Plumed Knight. But Tuesday, with a perfectly straight face, I shall turn up in the *Tribune* cheering vociferously for the grand old leader [Grover Cleveland]. The situation is not without its humorous side, although its financial aspect is rather dubious.²

After a short stint with the *Telegram*, then in the throes of bankruptcy, and two weeks with Harrison Gray Otis' *Times*, Willard secured a place on the morning *Herald*, where he covered police and political happenings

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in the city. His seven-day work week, which necessitated his walking the hilly, downtown streets to get his stories, did nothing to improve his fragile health.

Willard's journalism beat had its rewards, however, and soon his friends and acquaintances grew to include lawyers, judges, police officers, and Los Angeles Mayor Henry T. Hazard. He began making friends among the city's Democrats, and he gave his first speech in Los Angeles at a banquet in October, 1888. Enjoying the fun of politics, he apparently began to reverse his earlier impression that all Los Angelenos seemed "so hopelessly vulgar. . . ."³

Hinting at the future, Willard soon noticed in Los Angeles "an astonishing number of educated young men who maintain about the same principles as I do, and I have hopes of a good time in the future."⁴ Only a few months after moving to the city, he noted to his sister, "I feel in these days from a variety of small evidences that I am getting a grip here. I bide my time. I am in no hurry. I keep making acquaintances everywhere and I notice that I have influence with them."⁵ Three months later he wrote with pride to his sister, "Today I have an acquaintance that reaches out in every direction and have an acknowledged place among the best newspaper men in the city. Yet I have only laid the foundations. We shall see how it is when I have been here another year."⁶ Another letter followed which observed, "In wearing good clothes and going into the organizations of which the gentlemen and influential citizens are members, I am making a sort of an investment for the future."⁷ Willard's letters to his family reflect remarkable honesty in discussing his hopes and desires for his career.

While working for the *Herald* in the late eighties, Willard also earned a minor reputation as a writer of morbid short stories, most of which were published in *The Argonaut*, a San Francisco-based literary magazine. In twenty-two *Argonaut* stories, death themes including suicides, murders, and accidents appear in all but five. Most of the stories are set in a city, newspaper reporters

Willard's journalism beat had its rewards, and soon his friends and acquaintances grew to include lawyers, judges, police officers and the mayor of Los Angeles.



A failure as an independent businessman, Willard carved a successful career for himself as a city booster and political reformer.

Eager would-be purchasers viewed lots in the new development of Monrovia on the opening day of the land sale in the late 1880's. Willard arrived in Los Angeles just after this greatest economic boom had collapsed.

appear in several instances, and boarding houses are the usual dwellings—elements reflecting Willard's life at the time. In his own estimation, his best work was "The Fall of Ulysses," which related the perils of training an elephant to read. The story enjoyed a long life and was once printed in the *New York Sun* under Rudyard Kipling's byline.⁸

In 1888, the year Willard arrived in Los Angeles, a movement to establish a chamber of commerce was building in the city. An earlier chamber had expired in 1883, but with the economic vicissitudes following the deflation of the boom, a new booster organization seemed to be in order. Most of the men calling for the new organization were recent arrivals, men who had brought capital with them which had been invested in commerce and property. They had substantial interests to protect and enhance.⁹

Not surprisingly, Charlie Willard appeared at the first meeting of the revived Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, covering the event for his newspaper. When the group discussed selecting a secretary, he later recalled, he promised himself, "Some day I mean to be secretary of this concern."¹⁰ Early in 1891 he neared his goal by becoming an assistant to the organization's secretary, H. Jay Hanchette, who was one of Willard's best friends. When Hanchette, who had proven himself an incompetent administrator, mysteriously disappeared after promoting an Orange Carnival in Chicago, Willard took his place as head of the chamber.¹¹ (Hanchette's disappearance provided one of the best unsolved mysteries in the city's history.)

Under the efficient leadership of the new secretary, the moribund chamber of commerce was put in order. Willard proudly wrote to his family: "I can be a good business man if one is needed. This is about the first chance I ever had in life to show what I could do. . . ."¹²

Three years after becoming an Angeleno, he held a position that made him the city's leading professional booster and opened to him the doors of the city's power structure.

Not a small part of Willard's success with the chamber stemmed from his ability and skill as a writer. Leaflets, pamphlets, and newspaper articles emanated from his desk in a steady flow. Undoubtedly he also wrote copy directly for the newspapers, a service appreciated by overburdened city editors. By 1899, he had been largely responsible for the publication of thirty-five pamphlets which had circulation of more than one million copies. Most of them were city booster publications geared for eastern audiences. At the end of the decade he could claim with satisfaction that Los Angeles was the city best advertised in the East, with the exception of Chicago.¹³

Willard liked his job with the chamber, but he remained a man with unfulfilled aspirations. Thoroughly contented in 1892, he began showing signs of restlessness, and in 1894 he began publishing a small magazine well known in the annals of Los Angeles called *Land of Sunshine*.¹⁴ His venture was financially unsuccessful, however, and he turned the publication over to Charles Fletcher Lummis at the end of the year.¹⁵ "Don Carlos" Lummis, Los Angeles' best known eccentric, lothario, and early day hippie, converted the magazine to a literary journal with, albeit, booster overtones and, in 1902, changed the title to *Out West* to further separate it from its Chamber of Commerce heritage.

Willard again turned his attentions elsewhere, and in May, 1895, he founded the Sunset Club of Los Angeles. Calculated to include "the leaders of practical affairs in the city," the organization became an important arena of Willard's influence.¹⁶ The club's purposes were primarily social and intellectual, with monthly dinner meetings that included the reading of papers on timely topics. For Willard, however, much of the significance of the group was ultimately political and economic.



In the years that followed, in fact, Sunset Club members were closely identified with each organization and every campaign led by Willard. Sunset members included attorneys Henry W. O'Melveny and Charles Cassat Davis, United States Senator Stephen M. White, authors Lummis and Theodore S. Van Dyke, *Express* publisher Henry Z. Osborne, businessmen Wilson C. Patterson and Joseph O. Koepfli, Jr., and land developers Daniel Freeman, Abbot Kinney, Jonathan S. Slauson, and Slauson's son, James. Norman Bridge, Willard's physician before they both moved to California, was also included in the circle of influential citizens. Today the club remains an elite of the intellectual leaders of the business and professional community. Though its membership might deny the assertion, much of the policymaking for Los Angeles in the past eighty-three years has come from the Sunset Club.¹⁷

It was as Chamber of Commerce secretary in the

1890's, however, that Willard frequently found himself engaged in civic combat. Better service and lower rates from the railroads were one major interest of the businessmen's organization, but these issues proved to be minor compared to its contest with the Southern Pacific Railroad over the site for a federally financed, deep-water harbor. The railroad chose Santa Monica, while the majority opinion in Los Angeles supported San Pedro. To oversee the affray, Willard founded the Free Harbor League in 1895. Playing a role that was part boosting, part reform, his thinly veiled extension of the Chamber of Commerce helped lead the city to victory.¹⁸

In 1896 the League for Better City Government also took form in Los Angeles, and Willard claimed the operation as "my own scheme and plan from the start."¹⁹ Most of the leaders of the organization were friends of the chamber secretary, a conspicuous number being members of the Sunset Club. Willard, however, stayed

By 1899, Willard had been largely responsible for the publication of thirty-five pamphlets which had circulation of more than one million copies. Most of them were city booster publications.

in the background, not wishing to jeopardize his position with the chamber by acquiring political enemies. With its purposes of "purification of local politics" and securing "business administration of municipal affairs," the reform group thrived for several years before expiring. Its principal task of acquiring a new charter for the city was not accomplished.²⁰

In March, 1897, the restless Willard left the Chamber of Commerce for a new career as managing editor of the *Los Angeles Express*. Though the financial backing for his newspaper came from some of the city's more conservative capitalists, the *Express* operated as an energetic champion of municipal reform. As defined by Willard, however, the reforms needed by the city were moderate and business-oriented. Among the city's needs finding mention on Willard's editorial page, not surprisingly, was an improved city charter. His campaign to modify the charter and give more power to the mayor's office, however, fell far short of success in 1898.

Naturally enough, the afternoon daily for which Willard worked also did its best to generate enthusiasm for Southern California which was then in the midst of an economic recession. Every shred of evidence pointing to local economic prosperity was given great play in both news and editorial columns. One positive development strongly promoted in the *Express'* pages was the new oil industry, which by early 1898 was producing 2500 barrels a day in the city alone. Several hundred men were involved in the business, and stories featured the few small fortunes that were beginning to accumulate.²¹

Another source of enthusiasm was the "small Klondyke" that had opened up at Randsburg, one hundred miles north of Los Angeles in the Mojave Desert.²²

After two years of desperately hard work and frequent ill-health, however, Willard personally felt he had nothing to show for his efforts at the *Express* except more experience. Accordingly, he severed his connection with the paper in April, 1899. As with his attempt at magazine publishing, he had again failed in bidding for financial advancement.

After declining an offer to become the city's librarian, he again turned his talents to writing. In short time he produced three works that remain among the basic sources on the history of Los Angeles.²³

While engaged with his writing Willard assisted with several Chamber of Commerce enterprises and then became secretary of the fledgling Associated Jobbers of Los Angeles in the spring of 1900. Founded with the primary purpose of gaining lower freight rates from the railroads, the organization placed Willard again in a position straddling boosting and reform.

Willard had avoided active political involvement for several years after leaving the chamber. Late in 1901, just before he turned to making his living as a professional reformer, he sent a revealing letter to his father. It answers his father's criticism of politicians and expresses a surprising complacency for a man who would soon be making his living as a professional critic and fault-finder.

Now, my experience with men in public life is certainly very different from yours. I generally find them capable and honest fellows that do about the best they can under pretty hard conditions, and I always feel they are entitled to all the encouragement and good will we can give them instead of incessant kicks and complaints. I thank heaven that the older I get, the better I find the world, and that the disposition to continual criticism and fault-finding, which I had as a boy, is gradually dying out of me.²⁵

Considering the respect paid Willard by so many of his contemporaries, one hesitates to question his sincerity

Willard's pamphlets and newspaper articles made Los Angeles the best advertised city in the East, with the exception of Chicago. This photo shows a bustling Spring Street looking north from Third. c.1905.



*As secretary of the Municipal League,
Willard helped bring the civil service
system and direct legislation
to Los Angeles.*

as a reformer. It takes little imagination, however, to correlate the condition of his pocketbook with his sense of urgency about changes in government and politics.

By the year 1901 the Committee of Safety, which had replaced the League for Better City Government as the city's reform agency, was deep in the doldrums. Instead of rehabilitating the committee, its progressive leaders opted to create a new body, the Municipal League of Los Angeles. The league was to be a permanent civic reform body with a paid office staff, including an executive secretary, and it was to be non-partisan. By the end of the year formal organization was complete, and the ubiquitous Willard was installed in the office of secretary. Accordingly, he hired an assistant and added an extra telephone in his Associated Jobbers' office.²⁶

The first significant changes in Los Angeles municipal government accomplished by the league came in 1902 with the adoption of a civil service system and direct legislation, or initiative, referendum and recall. With apparent ease, success had gone to the reformers. The two men most responsible for the results were John Randolph Haynes, leader of the Direct Legislation League, and Willard. The stalwart Haynes, a prosperous, Christian-socialist physician and landholder, was a director of the Municipal League. Willard was an officer of the Direct Legislation League.

The liveliest political issue in Los Angeles the following year erupted when Mayor Meredith P. Snyder appointed Willard to the new Civil Service Commission. Accompanying league secretary Willard on the list of appointees were Haynes and Henry O'Melveny, the city's leading attorney. Of the five nominees to the commission, only one was not a member of the Sunset Club.²⁷ When the nominations were sent to the city council for approval, a fight erupted. "We object to Willard because

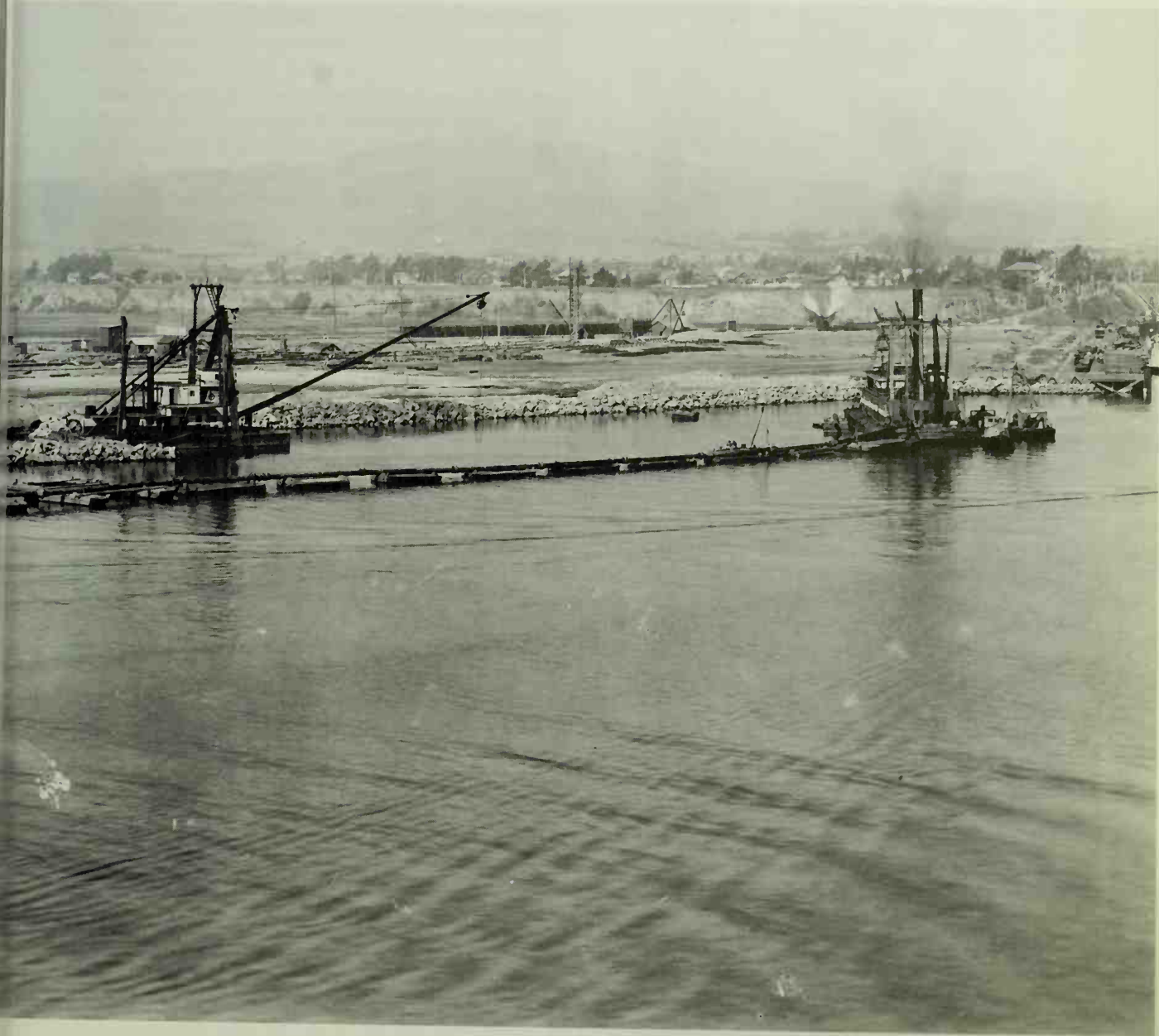


he has been trying to run the city his own way" voiced a councilman.²⁸ Though Willard had been labeled "father of the civil service" in Los Angeles, the council had its way, and Willard withdrew. In his place Snyder appointed Sunsetter Henry S. McKee. The commission's choice for its secretary was another of Willard's good friends, William Andrew Spalding. Willard's companions were hard to deny.

In line with the Municipal League's dual purposes of studying and then implementing municipal reform, Willard was sent to the Midwest in May, 1903, to investigate other city governments. His hectic six-week trip took him to nine cities. Willard was impressed by the strong municipal reform groups in Cleveland and Chicago, but not by those in Toledo and Kansas City. In Denver he witnessed preparations for the new city charter. In Milwaukee he rated the civil service system among the best in the nation; St. Joseph, by comparison, had the worst system he observed.²⁹

Willard's fact-finding trip was well timed. There were no political campaigns underway in Los Angeles to

Willard founded the Free Harbor League in 1895 to aid the Chamber of Commerce in its contest with the Southern Pacific Railroad to win a federally-financed harbor at San Pedro. This photograph shows the continuing construction c.1912.



In March, 1906, Willard's opportune presence at a council meeting allowed him to thwart the giveaway of a railway franchise worth an estimated \$1,000,000 to streetcar king Henry E. Huntington.

divert attention from Willard's tour, and Los Angeles was itself in the midst of a decade of steady growth that gave spirit to the business community. The movement for civic improvement had been progressing well, with the Municipal League becoming a respected institution with little or no competition from other organizations. Hence, Willard's extensive excursion garnered much interest from the civic-minded for a period of weeks. As well, soon after his return he began publication of a nine-part series of articles for the *Los Angeles Herald* based on his new stock of information. (In time, the members of the city council grew fatigued from his message-laden reminiscences usually aimed in the direction of City Hall.)

Willard's speeches, reports, statistics and newspaper articles kept a host of civic issues alive and before the public. Tramps, saloons, prize fighting, consolidation of city and county functions, financial practices of city agencies, improvement of the health department, and even garbage collection were given attention. The connection between Willard's fact-finding midwestern travels and the issues that occupied city government in Los Angeles for at least the remainder of the year was readily apparent.

The next year efforts at civic reform in Los Angeles centered on the possible recall of city officials. The Municipal League took no part in the campaign that removed a disliked city councilman from office that year, but Willard was so encouraged by this first successful

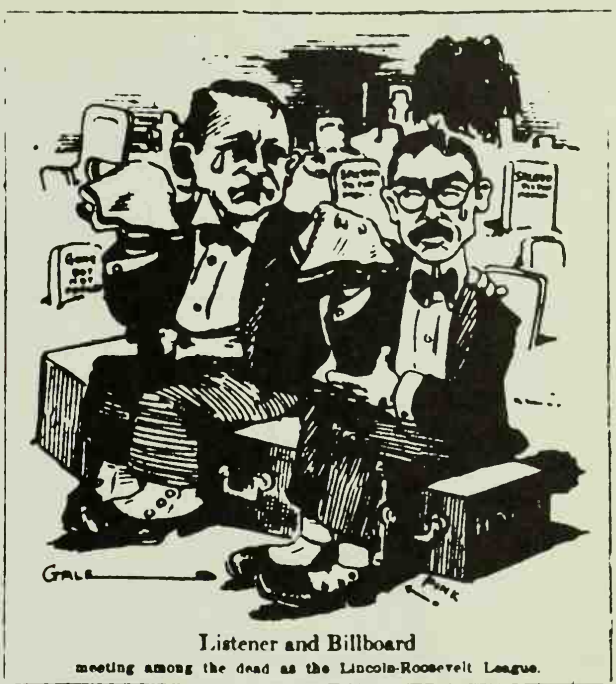
use of recall in the nation's history that he soon led his league into a bitterly personal dispute with a corrupt and inefficient street superintendent. Tied in closely with the campaign was an investigation of political corruption by the county grand jury. Willard, a man of many hats, was also the grand jury foreman.

Besides participation in the street superintendency election, the league supported in 1904 a "non-partisan" school board slate and several charter amendments, including one which created a Board of Public Works. The league won all its contests that year, and during the struggle the *Los Angeles Times* fitted Willard with the title, "Citizen Fixit." Borrowed from a politically naive cartoon character appearing in the *Sunday Times*, the nickname was not meant as a compliment.

In 1905 Willard again headed east as league secretary to investigate municipal government, but unlike his previous trip, any direct results of his efforts are hard to spot. Southern California was in the midst of its most vigorous land boom since the 1880's, and a scramble for wealth consumed the attention of Willard's reform associates. Willard himself invested in a small amount of acreage. Reflecting the feelings of the average Los Angeleno in 1905, an anti-saloon referendum was soundly trounced just prior to Willard's return from the East.³⁰ The business of reform had slowed, at least for a time.

After his eastern visit Willard began publishing an eight-page monthly magazine entitled *Municipal Affairs*. As the official organ of the Municipal League, it was sent to all league members, city and county officials, local publishers, and ministers residing in Los Angeles, as well as reform groups in other parts of the nation. Most information in the paper was a combination of news-reporting and editorializing on national and local issues, and all of it was written by Willard. Despite his expectations that the paper would develop into a larger enterprise, by 1907 circulation reached only 1100.³¹ Convinced of the importance of communication, Wil-

As a Democrat, Willard was not a member of the progressive Lincoln-Roosevelt League, but the Los Angeles Times recognized his important contribution to that organization. Here he is shown with his closest political associate, Meyer Lissner, after a supposed setback for the league in February, 1909.



lard nevertheless continued to use the magazine to bind together diverse elements of the reform movement in Los Angeles.

Another of Willard's regular tasks was the keeping of a close eye on the city council. Whether the councilmen liked it or not, Willard had his own corner of the council chambers, and he gained begrudging recognition as the "Member from the Tenth Ward," there being but nine wards in the city.³²

In March, 1906, Willard's opportune presence at a council meeting allowed him to thwart the giveaway of a railway franchise worth an estimated \$1,000,000 to streetcar king Henry Edwards Huntington. Using the newspapers to inform the public, the threat of recall, distribution of pointed literature, and the legal machinery of the Municipal League, the giveaway was stopped. During his remaining years in Los Angeles, Willard again and again harkened to this incident as a prime example of the menace of the "machine." Referring in this case primarily to Huntington, Willard usually used the term to mean the Southern Pacific and its allies under the leadership in Los Angeles of the rotund, mustachioed political boss, Walter Parker. According to one investigator of this franchise giveaway, "Whatever may have been the precise facts, the circumstances surrounding the transaction aroused suspicion, and the ensuing public reaction may well have been the turning point in the fortunes of the machine and the reformers."³³ On several other occasions city councilmen also tried unsuccessfully to slip shady ordinances past Willard, the self-appointed peoples' guardian.

Willard's Municipal League continued to grow until 1907 when it reached a membership of 600, but Willard was increasingly plagued by declining health and unable to match his increased responsibilities. As a result, the league began to suffer. At the same time other groups had arisen to fill the reform limelight. As the *Times* observed, "Before there was as keen competition in the business of reforming, little whirlwinds followed in his

wake when Willard walked through the streets; but in these days of a dozen or more societies 'to purify the civic atmosphere,' he doesn't raise as much atmosphere. . . ."³⁴ The league's *Municipal Affairs* continued to reach its readers, but Willard became less active. His last direct political campaign, the recall of Mayor Arthur C. Harper in 1909, ended with his physical collapse.

Soon after the Harper recall, Willard resigned as secretary of the Municipal League and became first vice-president. Until his death five years later, Willard served unofficially as the senior advisor to Los Angeles reform efforts.³⁵

After his resignation from the league post, Willard became "editorial contributor" for the *Pacific Outlook*. Doing "work I *can* do—instead of work that I can't do,"³⁶ he also became the western counterpart of Theodore Roosevelt, an editorialist for the *New York Outlook*.

Founded in 1906, the *Pacific Outlook* was starving for both readers and revenue in 1909. Its circulation approximated 400. When Willard took his new job as editorial contributor, *Municipal Affairs* went with him as a one-page insert to the magazine. Although not the official publication of the Municipal League, *Pacific Outlook* added to its mailing all the members of the league.

For the first time in several years Willard was genuinely enthusiastic about life. In June, 1909, he wrote:

Willard saw political reform as a means, not an end. The real goal was . . . "giving a man a chance to be happy and develop the best that is in him."

I find it a great satisfaction to have a voice again to talk to the public, and I know I have about 5000 in the audience and they are picked people—so to speak. It is like coming to life again. Instantly I am put right into the thick of things—and it will steadily grow thicker. It happens that just now there is no strong substantial editorial work done in Los Angeles.³⁷

Writing an average of 5000 to 7000 words per week for the magazine in the next few years, Willard never lacked something to say. His subjects ranged from proposals to create a city Public Utilities Commission to a series of essays addressed to the new women voters in the state. Politicos searching for editorial support often went to Willard's home. Gubernatorial candidate Hiram Johnson visited the semi-invalid early in his campaign in 1910, and Willard's words were no small asset in the victorious crusade that is credited with breaking the Southern Pacific's political control of the state.

As he had done for years, Willard continued to absorb information from sources across the nation—newspapers, magazines, and the latest studies on politics and government. His visits to Los Angeles, combined with news furnished by visitors to his home near Pasadena and his busy telephone, kept him well informed. He was the best political barometer in Los Angeles, and his readership was compounded by the regular reprinting of his editorials in newspapers throughout the state.

By 1910 the refurbished Municipal League claimed a roll of 1000, but the *Pacific Outlook* was on shaky ground. In San Francisco the *California Weekly* was in the same state, mostly through a lack of advertising. Meyer Lissner, leader of the state's insurgent Republicans and

Willard's closest political associate, hence found the wherewithal to combine both publications into a new journal, the *California Outlook*. With Willard as its chief editorialist, the magazine became the main organ of the state's progressives.

Willard's style and choice of subjects changed little from his days with the *Express* in the late 1890's to his last editorials for the *California Outlook* in 1914. More often than not, Willard was an optimist. In his opinion, basic change had taken place in the nation, and most people recognized that man depended upon his fellow men and that there is an "utter futility of . . . individual effort when it reins counter to the general good."³⁸ This transformation had its roots in the 1880's, Willard believed, when miscellaneous organizations took form, all "comprehended under the term 'reform'." To Willard this was a word that had been "a bit overworked," and he welcomed the opportunity to use the new term "progressive" in place of the old.³⁹

More than many progressives, Willard saw political reform as a means, not an end. The real goal was social betterment—to "give a man a chance to be happy and develop the best that is in him."⁴⁰ The first line of attack for the reformer, Willard believed, should be the "simple uncontested issues of sanitation, honest taxation, good government, decent housing, control of the liquor traffic, juvenile courts, child labor legislation, playgrounds, and pure food laws." After that, reformers should turn to the more difficult issues such as "city government by experts, taxation of values in unimproved lands, income and inheritance taxes, old age pensions, prison reform, . . . abolition of the slum, public care of all indigent children, state insurance, and postal banks."⁴¹ No premature New Dealer, however, Willard believed that these responsibilities rightfully rested on local government, and he failed to foresee the day of massive federal programs to combat social ills.

In Willard's eyes progress was being made in municipal government. In 1905, he recalled, his textbook on

city government failed to sell, even though the text had been carefully screened by the publisher for touches of radicalism on issues such as civil service, bossism, municipal ownership, and direct legislation.⁴² By 1913, when many of its proposals had become common practice in American cities and its ideas were somewhat dated, sales made a marked advance.⁴³

In his last years, Willard's writing continued to draw influential visitors to his home. In 1912 both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson came to meet him. Although the Democratic Willard was impressed by Wilson, his editorials supported the Rough Rider.⁴⁴

By mid-1913 subscribers to the *California Outlook* were reading the thoughts of a man who was unable to walk and whose doctors forbade him to speak in more than a whisper. Tuberculosis was slowly running its course, and Willard's contributions to the magazine slacked slightly when Chester H. Rowell and William Allen White joined him as editorial contributors.

At the end Willard was a man at peace with the world. His illness caused him only slight pain, and he also enjoyed a sense of success at his labors for his adopted city. Fulfilling his expectations of two decades earlier, Los Angeles contained over 300,000 thriving inhabitants in 1910. The city was also relatively free from political corruption, and at the end of the victorious election campaign of 1909 Willard offered this saccharine appraisal of his growing metropolis:

The occasion is historic and marks an epoch. . . . We love Los Angeles as few people living elsewhere love their city. Most of us are here not by chance of birth, but by deliberate choice and immigration. . . . "It is all perfect," we said to ourselves! "You see it is perfect," we said to our guests. But we knew that it was not. For all that we loved Los Angeles, we could not close our eyes to the truth; that it was bound with the double chain of a political and commercial serfdom. . . . We



Citizen Flxit there, of course.

The Los Angeles Times caricatured Willard's role as the meddling council member from the fictional Tenth Ward.

could not respect our city. We could not respect ourselves, while this continued. But it is over at last. Our city is free! The enemy is dislodged, defeated and driven forth, and now we can say with full hearts "Los Angeles is perfect. She is peerless among the cities of the world!" And we who fought in the foremost of the battle are the proudest and happiest of her children.⁴⁵

"Los Angeles is perfect." So believed the man who credited the California climate with prolonging his life by more than a quarter century. Boosting had been Willard's profession, but his expressions of love for the city were honest.

Early in 1914 Willard entered his last battle. Although his friend Lincoln Steffens called Willard one of the "fighters," there was no fight left.⁴⁶ Willard died quietly in his sleep on January 22. It was his fifty-fourth birthday.

The record left by Willard gives evidence of the close ties between promotion and reform in the progressive era. It details the development of one of the nation's most successful urban power elites and illuminates the conflict between a political machine cut from the traditional mold and a machine erected by reformers. Above all, his story brings into focus the motivations of a journalist who made his living from the crusades for the upbuilding and political cleansing of Los Angeles. As either city booster or progressive reformer, Charles Dwight Willard was a professional.

The photographs on pages 161, 163, and 165 are from the Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library. The portrait on page 159 is from *California Outlook*, January 31, 1914, courtesy Henry E. Huntington Library; on page 169 and 167, from the *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1906, and February 4, 1909; and on page 164, from *Southern Californians* "As We See 'Em" (E. A. Thompson, 1905).

Notes

1. For example, George E. Mowry's standard *The California Progressives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1951), pp. 99, 331, gives Willard one quote and mentions him in a bibliographical note. John W. Caughey also includes Willard's name in the bibliography of his *California* (3rd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 413, 646; and Spencer C. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1968), pp. 5, 68, accords the Los Angeles Progressive several sentences. Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1967), pp. 213-215, 217, mentions Willard briefly. This article is based on the author's "Charles Dwight Willard: Los Angeles City Booster and Professional Reformer, 1888-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1971).
2. Charles Dwight Willard to Mary Willard, April 29, 1888, Willard Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. All of the correspondence listed in this article is found in the Willard Collection.
3. Willard to Harriet Willard, April 17, 1888.
4. Willard to Harriet Willard, March 24, 1889.
5. Willard to Harriet Willard, January 6, 1889.
6. Willard to Harriet Willard, April 1, 1889.
7. Willard to Harriet Willard, September 6, 1889.
8. Willard, "The Fall of Ulysses," *The Argonaut*, XXIII (August 20, 1888): 4-5; "The Story's Story," unpublished ms., Willard Collection, Box 10.
9. The best account of the chamber in its early years is Willard's *History of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Company, 1899).
10. *Pacific Outlook*, VI (June 5, 1909): 6-7.
11. Willard to Samuel Willard, March 19, 1891; Willard to Mary Willard [March ?, 1891].
12. Willard to Samuel Willard, September 26, 1891.
13. Willard, *Chamber of Commerce*, 143; 147.
14. Willard to Mary Willard, April 3, 1892. For an account of the magazine's beginnings, see Edwin R. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis: Editor of the Southwest* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), pp. 36-50.
15. Although ignoring Willard's part in the story, the fullest treatment of Lummis is Dudley Gordon, *Charles F. Lummis: Crusader in Corduroy* (Los Angeles: Cultural Assets Press, 1972).
16. Willard to Samuel Willard, October 27, 1895.
17. On the Sunset Club, see *Annals of The Sunset Club of Los Angeles* (5 vols., Los Angeles: The Sunset Club of Los Angeles, 1895-1970); Homer D. Crotty, "Seventy Years Ago: The Birth of the Sunset Club" (Los Angeles: Sunset Club, 1965), and "Charles Dwight Willard, Founder of the Sunset Club" [n.p., 1914].
18. The harbor fight is covered by Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*

- (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Company, 1899), and Richard Webster Barsness, "The Maritime Development of San Pedro Bay, California, 1821-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1963).
19. Willard to Samuel Willard, September 12, 1896.
 20. The best survey of political reform in the two decades leading to the election of Mayor George Alexander in 1910 is Albert Clodius, "The Quest for Good Government in Los Angeles, 1890-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1953). Significant gaps in the story up to 1896 are filled by Culton, "Willard," 109-126.
 21. *Los Angeles Express*, February 24, 1898.
 22. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1898.
 23. *Free Harbor; Chamber of Commerce*; and *The Herald's History of Los Angeles City* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Co., 1901).
 24. The Associated Jobbers played an important part in the struggle between San Francisco and Los Angeles for economic supremacy in California. See Culton, "Willard," 167-182.
 25. Willard to Samuel Willard, October 5, 1901.
 26. Willard to Samuel Willard, January 13, 1902.
 27. *Los Angeles Express*, January 23; February 2, 1903.
 28. *Los Angeles Herald*, February 4, 1903.
 29. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1903.
 30. *Los Angeles Express*, June 3, 1905.
 31. *Municipal Affairs*, I (September 1905): n.p.; II (February 1907): 6.
 32. Willard to Sarah Willard Hiestand, September 16, 1905.
 33. Clodius, "Good Government," 119. Accounts of the franchise giveaway vary slightly. One of Willard's accountings is "The Famous River Bed Franchise Deal," *Pacific Outlook*, VII (November 27, 1909): 6-7. Other sources include, *Los Angeles Express*, March 27-April 2, 1906; *Municipal Affairs*, I (May 1906): 9; and George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives*, 39.
 34. *Los Angeles Times*, clipping, no date, Willard Collection, Box 10.
 35. In 1912 Willard was renamed secretary of the Municipal League, serving until his death. His position, however, was mostly honorary.
 36. Willard to Mary Willard [June ? 1909].
 37. Willard to Sarah Willard Hiestand, June 24, [1909].
 38. *California Outlook*, XII (January 6, 1912): 15.
 39. *Ibid.*, XIII (July 6, 1912): 5.
 40. Willard to Theodore Roosevelt, April [?], 1911. Reprinted in *American Scholar*, III (Autumn 1934): 469.
 41. *Pacific Outlook*, VII (September 18, 1909): 3.
 42. Willard, *City Government for Young People* (New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1906).
 43. *California Outlook*, XV (August 23, 1913): 5.
 44. *Los Angeles Express*, March 21, 1911; Willard to Sarah Willard Hiestand, March 31; August 22, 1911.
 45. Clipping, no date, Marshall Stimson, "Scrapbook," II, 59.
 46. Lincoln Steffens to Willard, April 15, 1909.

A PLATE OF BRASS

In December, 1577, Captain Francis Drake sailed from England on what was to be an archetypical voyage of privateering, exploration, and, possibly, discovery of unknown dominions. With plans to sack Spain's ports on the western shores of South America and to challenge Spanish hegemony over the Pacific Ocean, Drake and his remaining three ships passed without incident through the dread Strait of Magellan into a violent Pacific Ocean storm. One ship sank, and another returned to England. Now alone and headed up the coast, Drake raided the ports of Valparaiso and Callao de Lima, seized a Panama-bound galleon loaded with treasure from Peru, and escaped northward, looking for the fabled "Straits of Anian" which would lead to a Northwest Passage back to the Atlantic and England. Reaching as far north as what is Oregon and discouraged by "vile, thicke, and stinking fogges," Drake retreated south in search of a calm harbor in which to repair his leaking ship and replenish his supplies in preparation for crossing the Pacific.

On June 17, 1579, Drake sailed the Golden Hinde into "a faire and good Baye" near 38° north latitude where he and some sixty seamen spent thirty-six days building a fortress, careening and repairing the Golden Hinde, treating with the Indians, and exploring the surrounding countryside. On the eve of their departure they inscribed and erected a brass plate which claimed the territory for Queen Elizabeth and named it "Nova Albion," thereby issuing another challenge to Spain's strong imperial control. On July 23, Drake weighed anchor and departed the bay, sailing westward from his California harbor and reaching England in September of 1580, where he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his outstanding service.

Drake's remarkable voyage has fascinated cartographers and historians for centuries because his audacious adventure

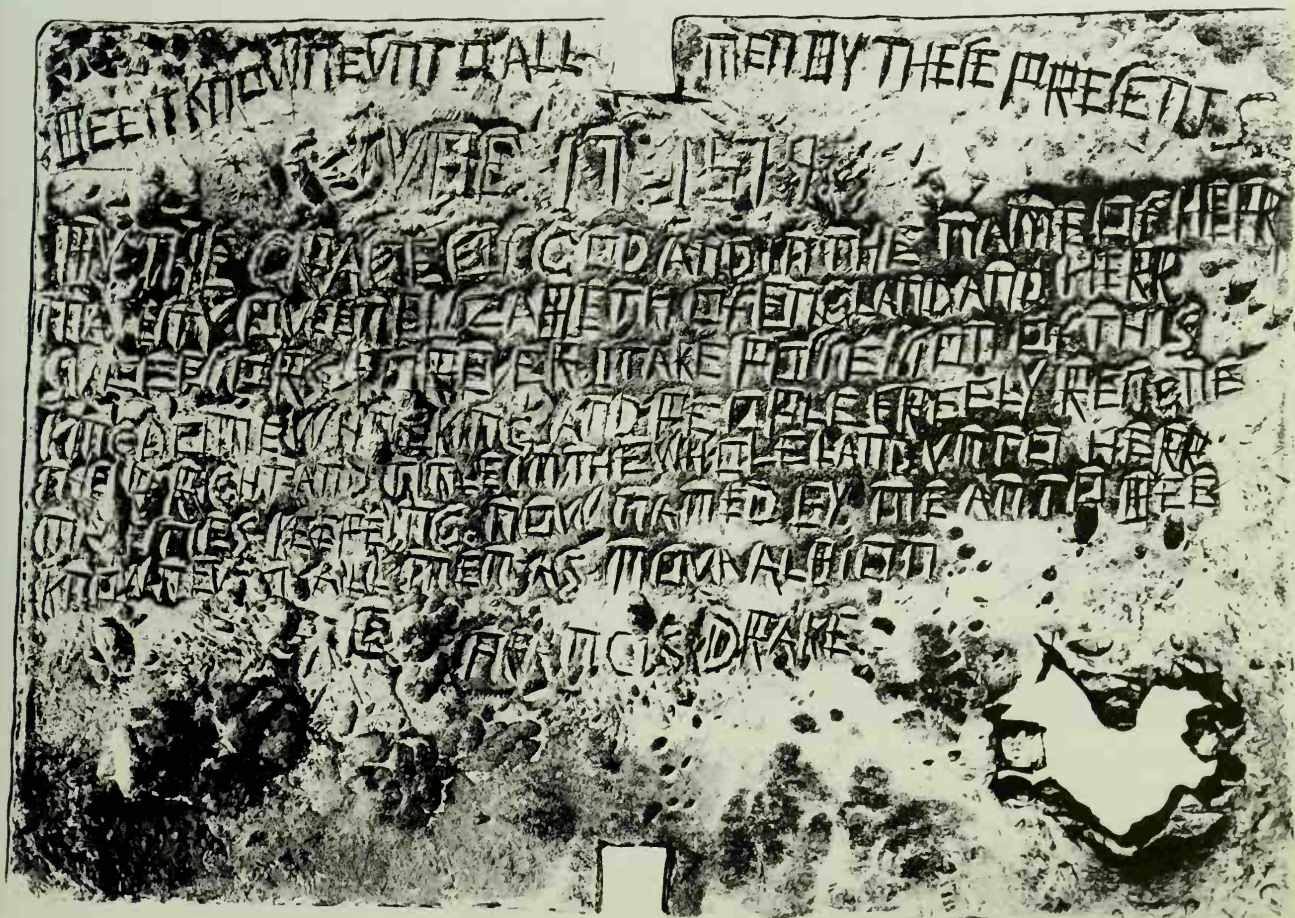
marked not only the second circumnavigation of the globe but also the end of Spain's dominance of the Pacific. Drake's voyage raises other intriguing questions. For Britons, where in California did Drake declare the first non-Europeans to be the subjects of Queen Elizabeth? For Americans, where in what is now the United States did Englishmen first lay claim to North America some six years before the founding of the earliest English colony in America at Roanoke?

If Drake's log books or journal or charts could be found, there would be no uncertainty about the location of Drake's month-long encampment site. The location of Drake's Nova Albion fort has been fully debated in the Fall 1974 issue of the California Historical Quarterly. The evidence that Drake erected a plate of brass in California is undisputed. Both The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake in Richard Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries (1589) and The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake (1628) corroborate that Drake "set vp a monument of our being there . . . namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post. . . ."

The discovery in 1936 of an inscribed brass plate on a ridge overlooking San Francisco Bay appeared to bring to light the first physical evidence of Drake's presence in California. On the basis of scientific and historical tests, scholars accepted the authenticity of the plate for over thirty years, debating only the method of its deposit at the Marin County site. In July, 1977, however, the Bancroft Library, the repository of the plate, dropped a historical "bombshell" by seriously questioning its authenticity. In the following article, Mr. Power, the leading proponent of a San Francisco Bay landing site, develops a convincing counter case for the authenticity of the plate.

Editor's Note

By Me...C. G. Francis Drake



Photograph of the Plate of Brass.

On July 27, 1977, in the Bancroft Library at the University of California in Berkeley, James D. Hart, Director of the Library, and Helen V. Michel and Frank Asaro, scientists from Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, held a press conference to announce that "new tests cast serious doubts on the authenticity of the famous Plate of Brass, thought to have been left near San Francisco 398 years ago by Sir Francis Drake."¹ The press conference publicized Director Hart's newly published report titled *The Plate of Brass Re-examined 1977*, which indicated that all of the new evidence developed in the two-and-one-half years of investigations by the Bancroft Library was "essentially negative"² in establishing the Plate of Brass as an authentic sixteenth-century artifact.

The press release given to the assembled editors and news directors accentuated the "essentially negative" findings by quoting from Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morison's book, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages* (Oxford University Press, 1974), that the plate was "a hoax perpetrated by some collegiate joker . . . as successful a hoax as the Piltdown Man or the Kensington Rune Stone."³ Near the end of the official university press release, Director Hart was quoted as having said, "Guesses about a hoax and reasons for not revealing it are intriguing. . . . [However] with a definitive answer as to the plate authenticity still lacking, it will remain on public view at Bancroft Library."⁴

Not surprisingly, reporters made the most of the conference announcement and escalated Director Hart's suggestion of possible inauthenticity into unquestioned fraud. An article in the *San Francisco Examiner* that afternoon began with the headline, "The Drake Plate: A

Hoax, U.C. Says." Two days later on July 29, 1977, the *Manchester Guardian* reported, "The battered metal plaque accepted for thirty years as Sir Francis Drake's claim . . . to . . . California as British territory 'forever' has turned out to be a student hoax." The international news story concluded with a reference to the scholar who first supported the plate's authenticity, "Professor [Eugene] Bolton seems to have been a victim of his own enthusiasm."

The Bancroft Library's report, however, did not warrant the reckless conclusions of the fifth estate, and the evidence presented in *Re-examined 1977* may not even have justified Director Hart's characterization of the new evidence concerning the plate's authenticity as "essentially negative." (It should be noted that "essentially negative" was generally taken to mean "evidencing against authenticity," whereas the term merely means "without value in settling the question being investigated.") *Re-examined 1977* focused on the investigation into the characteristics of the brass itself to the near exclusion of the plate's calligraphic characteristics. Because the metallurgical studies of the age of the plate were interpreted as "essentially negative," the linguistic studies were not pursued further.

Ironically, however, the metallurgical studies of the plate have inadvertently revealed significant calligraphic traits that were not noticed by the Bancroft's investigators. These discoveries would appear so significant in character as to challenge both *Re-examined 1977* and Director Hart's interpretation that the evidence developed was "essentially negative."

This important and overlooked research appears in Appendix F of *Re-examined 1977* in a memorandum to Professor Hart dated October 7, 1976, from A. J. Schwarber of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. It includes a radiograph or X-ray of the brass plate and the following comment, "The three letters *J* each apparently have a cross mark at their top, and a cusp at their bottom. These are partially obliterated by peening."⁵

Mr. Power is a past president of the Board of Trustees of CHS, a noted Drake scholar, and a member of the Sir Francis Drake Commission. His article "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay," appeared in the Summer 1973 *Quarterly*, and he was one of three contributors to the special Fall 1974 issue of the magazine which explored the Drake's landing site controversy in the form of a debate.

THEE KPOWPEVNT O ALL MEN BY THEE PRESENTS.
 IVPE. 17. 1579.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HER
 MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HER
 SUCCESSORS FOREVER. I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
 KINGSOME WHERE KINGS AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIDE
 THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HER
 MAJESTIES KEEPERS. NOW NAMED BY ME APTO BEE
 KPOWPEVNT ALL MEN AS POW ALBION.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

A revealing positive print made from a radiograph or X-ray of the Plate of Brass.

BLACK-LETTER INFLUENCE
ON PLATE OF BRASS

PLATE OF
BRASS COMPARABLE
SOURCE

1577
Holinshed's Chronicles

1577
Holinshed's Chronicles

1577
Holinshed's Chronicles

Second-form R

1561
Chaucer (Trial M)

1561
Chaucer

First-form N
sans Serif

1576
Magna Charta (Trial N)

1561
Chaucer
(Second-form N with Serif)

1576
Magna Charta

Re-examined 1977 did not mention that the canceled J's were dotted and that three other and previously unknown calligraphic alterations were revealed by the radiograph. Collectively, these alterations, discovered after the publication of *Re-examined 1977*, have contributed the greatest single body of new knowledge about the Plate of Brass since it was first subjected to scientific evaluations in 1938. These new discoveries will be explored in depth, but a brief review of *Re-examined 1977* will first evaluate whether the evidence presented therein indeed warrants an "essentially negative" finding.

It was forty-two years ago that the Plate of Brass was discovered and pulled with effort by Beryle Shinn from the soil of a ridge overlooking San Francisco Bay. At no time in the first three decades after its discovery was the authenticity of the Plate of Brass effectively challenged, largely because of the efforts of Eugene Bolton and the Bancroft Library of which he was director in 1938. With the financial assistance of the California Historical Society, an inquiry into the authenticity of the plate was authorized by Bolton who arranged for Colin G. Fink of Columbia University and E. P. Polushkin and George R. Harrison of Massachusetts Institute of Technology to make any and all tests they deemed appropriate.⁶ Their evaluations, including a microscopic examination of a portion of the plate's patina, which has since been removed, led them to conclude that the Plate of Brass they examined was the one referred to in *The World Encompassed* (London, 1628) and not a facsimile made in modern times.

The first publicly effective charge questioning the plate's authenticity was made in 1974 by Admiral Morison, an esteemed historian with a towering reputation for exposing presumed frauds, the most recent to his credit being the Vineland Map. His charge that the Plate

of Brass was a student hoax, however, was without substantive foundation or justification,⁷ and the resulting worldwide shift in academic opinion was not justified by Morison's evidence. Morison's *European Discovery*, in fact, was illustrated with a retouched photograph of a tinfoil facsimile of the Bancroft's Plate of Brass made for the tourist trade by the McCoy Label Company of San Francisco.⁸

After Morison's hasty albeit influential pronouncement that the plate was a hoax, Director Hart solicited the scientific assistance in 1975 of Cyril Stanley Smith of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, R. E. M. Hedges of the Research Laboratory of Archeology and the History of Art at Oxford, A. J. Schwarber of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, and Helen V. Michel and Frank Asaro of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory. In contrast to the dramatic conclusions drawn by the reports from Director Hart's remarks at his 1977 press conference, the experts' reports announcing the results of their studies present a mosaic of contradictory opinion.

Dr. Smith of MIT noted in conclusion to his study that he was "inclined to the opinion that the plate is a modern forgery." However, he concluded,

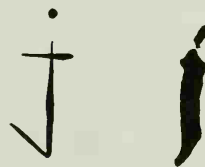
I firmly believe that evidence from the viewpoint of a material scientist is not sufficient to form an historical conclusion. . . . The best of scientific measurements are historically significant only when related to comparable material . . . excepting only those measurements of age that depend upon invariable radioactive decay. None of my remarks should be taken as firm evidence of modernity of the plate unless and until the same criteria have been applied with negative results to ancient material of undoubted provenance.⁹

In a similar vein, Dr. Hedges noted in a letter accompanying the Oxford test results that, "while the results of the analysis are consistently clear, I do not think they can provide unequivocal proof of the authenticity or the forgery of the plate." In the body of his report, Hedges concluded,

The Zn [zinc] content [in the Plate of Brass] is unusually



This unique and recently unraveled Elizabethan monogram stands for C[aptain] G[eneral], the rank held by navigator Francis Drake.



The I and J were identical in printed Elizabethan texts, except in lowercase Roman letters where the distinct J form first appeared. When the J was lowercase, it was always dotted, as in the letter from the 1561 edition of Chaucer (left). The incisor of the Plate of Brass followed the practice of placing a dot over the J's before altering them into the usual I form of J.

Fulij

One example of the use of J in text printed in London circa 1577 is exhibited by this italic type face in Latin text in John Dee's Art of Navigation, London, 1577. The uppercase form of the I/J is dotted. The regular Roman type face text in Dee's work uses the I form for J in both upper and lowercase.

high, but two examples of Elizabethan brass have been found with only 1% less Zn. . . . The analytical evidence cannot, therefore, be used to support the contention that the brass is of the Elizabethan period . . . [nor can] the evidence . . . be used to argue the brass is of a much later period.¹⁰

It remained for Drs. Michel and Asaro of the Lawrence Laboratory to make the most definitive findings. They alone among the experts stated, "The Plate of Brass . . . was made in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries."¹¹

Smith and Hedges' conclusions are clearly less than conclusive. Both men acknowledged that the plate *might* be false, but *might* be genuine. The definitely presented conclusion offered by Michel and Asaro, on the other hand, may be founded upon insufficient data.

A problem confronting the researchers, one which has no adequate methodological resolution, was the limited amount of identifiable sixteenth-century sheet brass from various parts of the world available to be included in the data for comparison. Furthermore, an obvious omission from the data base was sixteenth-century Portuguese trade brass.

Another point raised in the case against the Plate of Brass by *Re-examined 1977* is the opinion expressed by Dr. Smith that the Drake plate is formed of rolled, not hammered, brass. The Bancroft Library attempted to validate this observation by the use of gamma-ray absorption studies to determine uniformity of thickness. In a personal interview with Dr. Smith, however, he advised the author that this is not a definitive method of determining whether brass has been rolled or hammered. Recently, the Bancroft Library has ordered a molybdenum X-ray test as a possible means of determining the plate's grain orientation, a factor which differs in hammered brass and rolled brass, at least as produced in modern times. Our limited historical knowledge about sixteenth-century methods of forming sheet brass, however, could make difficult a proper interpretation of the molybdenum X-ray test now being conducted at the Lawrence Laboratory in Berkeley.

Dr. Smith raised other questions about how the Plate of Brass was formed, as well. He believed that the plate had been cut into its rectangular shape by shearing rather than by chiseling, which indicated to him an origin later than the sixteenth-century. The Bancroft Library had the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory follow up with greatly enlarged photographs of the plate's edge which tend to support Smith's opinion, but the definitive ballistic-type study was never undertaken.

How was the Plate of Brass formed into a plate of consistent thickness, shaped into a rectangle, incised with letters, and cut to accommodate two spikes and an implanted silver sixpence? "Questions unanswered," not "negative evidence," characterize this portion of the 1977 report.

Re-examined 1977 regarded the linguistics and calligraphy of the Drake plate as only peripheral in importance to its dating and relegated that study to a brief and shallow appraisal based on casual observation by authorities and nonauthorities alike. Director Hart explained, "These inquiries concerning the inscription were literally and figuratively surface matters that could help to determine authenticity only if the brass was found to be of sixteenth-century origin."¹² Because the results of the metallurgical tests were inconclusive, however, it is obvious that the calligraphic characteristics of the Plate of Brass should have received additional study before an "essentially negative" result was announced. From *Re-examined 1977*, it seems apparent that no unequivocal answer regarding the age of the brass can ever be made until a radioactive-decay dating system is devised to age-date brass. In the interim, I would suggest, the most useful study might be one investigating the inscription itself.

In his brief references to the plate's inscription, Direc-



tor Hart reported that Professor Thomas S. Barnes of the University of California at Berkeley was “disturbed . . . because he could not think of any instance in which a common person performed an act and declares that he does it by the ‘grace of God.’”¹³ Recently, however, this author discovered a seemingly parallel sample of Elizabethan expression in John Dee’s *The Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577). Drake’s chief patron, Christopher Hatton, published that book while the voyage was in the height of preparation, and Drake most certainly carried with him a copy on the *Golden Hinde*. In the book, Dee, a commoner, states: “Then, By Gods grace, we may (comfortably) thus Answer this first Downt, In the name of the whole Body Politicall.” This expression of thought is a close parallel to the Plate of Brass which reads: “BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR MAIESTY QVEEN

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND . . . I TAKE POSSESSION.” Morison, on the other hand, thought that the phrase “By the Grace of God” should be found in the plate’s text after the word “Elizabeth” and before “of England.” It should be observed, however, that Elizabeth’s full title appeared on the Drake plate by the inclusion of a silver sixpence which bore the Latin inscription, “ELIZABETH. D:G: ANG. FRA. ET. H. REGINA.” There was clearly no need to repeat Elizabeth’s full title in the brief English text of the Plate of Brass and therefore no need for the second “By the Grace of God” after “Elizabeth” as called for by Morison.¹⁴

A further illustration that God’s name was invoked before the Queen’s name is found in the words of Drake’s Chaplain Fletcher himself, who observed on September 6, 1578, the date the *Golden Hinde* left the Strait of Magellan: “We resolved . . . to do as wee had don to our

Examples abound in printed Elizabethan books of mixed black letter and Roman letter styles.

**The latter kinde of Reduction by crosse Multiplcation
is already shewed in the Examples of Addition: but for
more playnesse I wil giue one other Example.**

C.ij.

12

Thomas Digges, *Stratoticos* (London, 1579)

**¶ Imprinted at London in Flee-
testreete within Temple barre
at the Signe of the Hand and
Starre, by Richard Tot-
tel, the 8. day of March.
1576.
✻✻✻**

Richard Tottell, *Magna Charta, Cumstatutis . . .* (London, 1576)

**The Epistle of the aucthour.
To the most adoynd, and
best deseruyng to be reueren-
ced of al that loue the know-
ledge of the Mathematicks,
Abraham Ortelius of
Amwarp.**

Humfrey Lhuyd, *The Breviary of Britayne* (London, 1574)

good God and in deity to her majesty in other places, and sett up a monument for her Highness upon the cape for a witness of our passing that way.”¹⁶

Other doubts about the plate’s inscription were expressed by Ms. Leatia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., who observed in a letter to Director Hart that “the spelling is surprisingly modern except “HERR” [for “Her”] which is not in O[xford] E[nGLISH] D[ictionary].”¹⁷ A careful comparison of the spellings on the Plate of Brass, however, with that found in *The World Encompassed*, published in 1628, demonstrates that the Plate of Brass is less modern than *The World Encompassed*.¹⁸ Therefore, the question to be answered is whether the plate’s spelling is Elizabethan or the slightly later Jacobean, if there is in fact a discernible difference. Ms. Yeandle asked, “Why is the only lowercase letter [on the plate] a long S?”¹⁹ A closer examination, in fact, reveals four lowercase F’s, each appearing in the word “Of” (see lines 3, 4, and 5 of plate X-ray). All of the upper and lowercase S’s on the Plate of Brass follow the use rules practiced in *The World Encompassed* except the first S in “SVCESSORS” (line 5) which is an uppercase S on the Plate of Brass and a lowercase S in *The World Encompassed*. Why is there this one variant in eighteen uses of the letter S if it is in fact an inscription derived from *The World Encompassed* in modern times?

Director Hart also reported that Wayne Shumaker of the Department of English at UC Berkeley wondered why a forger would have “invented unknown letter forms [such as B, P, R, M and N]. . . . As for the letters,” Shumaker continued, “who can know the source of their odd forms. The first of the odd letters, B, may have suggested to the inscriber . . . a pious cross.”²⁰ On the contrary, I submit, a “forger” did not invent any “unknown letter forms”; the source of the “odd forms” is the English “black letter” or so called “gothic” or “Old English” letter form, widely used in sixteenth-century England. The precisely made R in “GRACE” (line 3) is a key to identifying the inscriber’s inspiration. In that

carefully formed letter, the top of the bulb of the *R* ends at the middle, as in the uppercase black letter forms of *P* and *R* as used in a contemporary printed book, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, published in London in 1577. On the other hand, the top of the upper bulb of the uppercase *B* in *Holinshed's Chronicles* touches both the outer and middle vertical strokes, a feature incorporated into the design of the *B* on the Plate of Brass.

Ms. Yeandle of the Shakespeare Library thought the extra horizontal stroke over the *N* and *M* letters strange, more so when it is superfluous over the *M* as in "NAME" (line 3),²¹ while Dr. Shumaker at Berkeley thought that extra horizontal stroke to be "sheer error."²² If these researchers had looked at a 1561 black-letter copy of Chaucer, however, they would have noticed the amazing similarity of the original *M* form in "NAME" and the uppercase page-heading for "THE MONKES TALE." After the plate's inscriber experimented with cutting an uppercase black-letter style for the *M* and *N*, he apparently opted for the simpler lowercase style for the *M* and *N* and made a single horizontal stroke to achieve that design, including in most instances thereafter a small left-hand overhang or serif on both letters. The Chaucer page caption for "The Man of Lawes Tale" clearly illustrates the lowercase form of both the *M* and *N* with the characteristic serif in the upper left-hand corner.

Commentators in *Re-examined 1977* on the letter styles of the plate unanimously identified the *B*, *P*, *R*, *N*, and *M* as "odd," as the work of an "unlettered workman," and "a little strange,"²³ and those criticisms were interpreted by Director Hart as supportive of his "essentially negative" conclusion. The authorities, however, had uniformly selected out all but one of the Old English black letters, but they did not recognize this as the case.

There is no reasonable scenario explaining why a forger would have created a half-dozen Old English black-letter style letters so obscure in design as to remain unrecognized until now. On the other hand, it is very

A "forger" did not invent any "unknown letter forms"; the source of the "odd forms" is the English black letter . . . widely used in sixteenth-century England.

reasonable to assume that an Elizabethan who read the literature of his times which mixed Roman and black-letter styles on the same page, in the same sentence, and even on occasion in the same word could have unconsciously created a mix of letter styles like that which appears on the Plate of Brass.

The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's very significant radiograph, a positive print of which became the single photograph in *Re-examined 1977*, offers more information which supports an authentic judgment on the plate. A. J. Schwarber of the laboratory reported to Director Hart that the radiograph showed that three *J*'s in the text were "partially obliterated by peening."²⁴ Director Hart reported the opinions of various authorities establishing that the letter *J* was just coming into use in England at the time of the Drake voyage as a variant on the letter *I* and that a case for either forgery or authenticity could be based on these three canceled *J*'s (in lines 2, 4, and 8). Unanswered, however, was why a forger would have ignored the *I* form of *J* used in *The World Encompassed*, engraved his *J*'s, and then erased or peened them to create *I*'s as used in his original published model.

Not reported in the 1977 document was that all three *J*'s were dotted. This dotting means either that these *J*'s were lowercase in form like the *S* and *F*, *M*, and *N*, or that they were a variant capital form used only in Elizabethan times. The principal use of *J* in published works at the time of the Drake voyage was as a lowercase Roman numeral and in Latin text, where the *J* was always dotted.²⁵

1
BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS.
2
3 4 5
IVNE . 17 . 1579.
6 7 8 9 10 11
BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
12 13
MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
14 15
SVCCCESSORS FOREVER. I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
16
KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
17 18 19
MAIESTIES KEEPEING. NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
20 21
KNOWNEVTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.
22 23 24
CG FRANCIS DRAKE.

1. "IT" was originally "YT." The upper strokes of the Y were visually canceled by hammering, but the original inscription is revealed in the radiograph.
2. The form of the N in "PRESENTS" was the result of experimenting on the N in "NAME" (line 3). This suggests that line 1 was the last line engraved as an addendum to the original text.
3. The radiograph also shows a difference in cutting results between line 1 and the other lines. The letters in line 1 are deeper and better formed, suggesting that the plate had been heated to cut the hole and notches and that it was still relatively malleable when the top line was cut.
4. The original text was "IVNE," canceled by hammering and altered to become "IVNE."
5. The *World Encompassed* uses the U rather than V in "IUNE." However, in Elizabethan times V was an uppercase form of U.
6. The 1628 first edition of *The World Encompassed* does not contain this rarely used period placed between the month and the day, but the 1652 edition does use the punctuation "IVNE. 17."
7. The R is clearly Old English black-letter in style. The B's, P's and two of the D's are also reflective of black-letter design.
8. The F's in the word "OF" appearing four times in lines 3, 4, and 5 are all lowercase, while the F's in "FREELY" and "FRANCIS" are uppercase.
9. The plate's wording reflects a thought expressed in John Dee's *The Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577): "By God and Ovr Good Queen" (p. 19) and "Remember Both God, and Queene" (p. 21).
10. The incisor first attempted to improve his N form by mak-

- ing a slight dome reflective of the uppercase black letter. He then abandoned the idea and over-canceled with a single horizontal stroke which overhung the left vertical stroke. This left-hand overhang creates a second state "N."
11. The M was first made in the uppercase black letter and then canceled for the easier lowercase M form. However, the lowercase M and N forms are still used as capital letter forms in simplified gothic type alphabets.
12. Apparently, the original plan necessitated by the limited space left in the right margin was to spell "HERR" with a single R. The incisor's editor apparently ordered a second R crowded into the text. It is clearly an angrily made letter, more crude than any other letter on the plate.
13. The I was a J until canceled by hammering.
14. "QVEEN" appears only as the possessive "QUEENES" in *The World Encompassed*. The other variance is the uppercase V on the plate and the lowercase U in *The World Encompassed*.
15. The *World Encompassed* uses a lowercase S at the beginning of "successors" and the lowercase U form in place of V.
16. A very early use of the combined "FOREVER." For instance, John Dee (London, 1577) uses "FOR EVER" in his text. *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests the combined form was used "chiefly" in the United States. Perhaps an accidental crowding of the two words occurred on the Plate. "Forever" in the combined form appears to be the one word that appears on the Plate of Brass, but is not found in known Elizabethan texts.
17. Original "WHOS" canceled into "WHOSE." The change from the external uppercase S to the internal lowercase s establishes that the original spelling was deliberate, not an error caused by forgetting to incise the E.

18. The I in "MAIESTIES" was originally a J form which, like the other J's was canceled.
19. "KEEPEING" is spelled "KEEPING" in *The World Encompassed*, but "keep" is spelled "keepe."
20. "AN" is a very rare form of this word, usually found only in poetry.
21. The original text read "KNOWNE TO." It now reads "KNOWNEVTO," with the N never having been struck.
22. "NOVA" does not appear in *The World Encompassed*, which incorrectly declares that the land was named "ALBION."
23. The use of "CG" is unique in Drake literature as an abbreviation of Drake's full title of "Captain General." However, *The World Encompassed* peculiarly concludes its description of Drake's "plate of brass" with the statement that "underneath was likewise engraven the name of our Generall &c." This suggests that the original manuscript contained an ampersand and "c" following the title of "General" to reflect the use of "CG" on the Plate of Brass. The printer may have taken it to be a symbol for "and so forth" and printed it without a space between the "&" and the "c."
24. The period after Drake is very correct, and it appears in the signature of Francis Drake in the 1628 edition of *The World Encompassed*.
25. The Plate of Brass carried an addendum to the text by the incorporation of a silver sixpence into the plate near Drake's signature. The inscription on the front of the silver "seal" read: "ELIZABETH.D.G: ANG. FRA. ET. H. REGINA." The reverse read: "POSVI DCV: AD IVTORE M: MEV." 15--.

Equally observable in the radiograph, although unnoticed by the Bancroft investigators, were several other corrections in spellings and word forms. For instance, inscribed underneath "WHOSE" is "WHOS" (line 6), with the regular uppercase S and no E. This correction of spelling would have been done only by an Elizabethan.²⁶ Also unnoticed by the *Re-examined 1977* authorities was that the plate had a correction in the final sentence of its text (line 9). The original inscription read "KNOWNE TO ALL MEN," but that was changed to read "KNOWNEVTO ALL MEN" with the N in "V[N]TO" never struck. Historian Paul Ward observed that "VTO" is an Elizabethan symbol for "VNT0," and therefore the insertion of the V without the N to create the word "VNT0" is not inconsistent with Elizabethan calligraphy, even though in this case the horizontal line above the V is absent. The Bancroft Library's new brochure, however, continues to state that the plate reads, "KNOWN VNT0 ALL MEN."

Still another correction visible in the radiograph is "BEE IT KNOWNE" (line 1) which originally read "BEE YT KNOWNE." Again, Paul Ward demonstrated that both forms were used in Elizabeth's England. Corrected manuscripts were not uncommon in Elizabethan England, and it was believed that it was more important to be correct than neat.

Further, *Re-examined 1977* makes no comment about the disclosure in the radiograph that the letter in the signature long presumed to be a G for General (in line 10) is in fact a C for Captain. The brochure distributed by the Bancroft Library reproducing the radiograph still transcribes that letter as a G. The radiograph revealed another surprise, namely a figure inside the letter C. Arthur Norberg, of the History of Science and Technology Program, who supervised the *Re-examined 1977* project, subsequently correctly observed that the new figure was an inner G with three hairline supports tying it to the C. This monogram composed of a C and a G is clearly a symbol for Drake's full title, "Captaine

Corrected manuscripts were not uncommon in Elizabethan England, and it was believed that it was more important to be correct than to be neat.

General." Early in *The World Encompassed*, Drake is identified as "Captain" and in a subsequent list of ships and commanders of the expedition as "Captaine generall Francis Drake. . . ." Throughout the rest of the account, he is termed "our General."²⁷ This neat monogram formed by the letters C and G is a unique abbreviation that strongly suggests authenticity.

Another subtlety of the brass manuscript that is pure Drake, although sufficiently obscure to have escaped the notice of virtually all researchers to date, is the phrase "BY ME" (line 8) in the sentence "NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BE KNOWNE TO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION." In a little known incident in Panama, Drake inscribed his gold toothpick with the phrase "By me Francis Drake," as identification to be carried by a native messenger. The phrase is distinctively Drake's, yet it is an extremely unlikely prospect that any forger would know it and use it.

Equally as unlikely in a hoax is the use of the word "NOW" on the Plate of Brass. *The World Encompassed* does indicate by its placement in the narrative that Drake coined the place-name "Albion" after he had dispatched his "necessary business . . . and . . . made a journey up into the land" and before he "set vp . . . a plate of brasse"²⁸ at the time of departure. The "NOW" on the Plate of Brass also indicates that "Nova Albion" had been coined at about the time the Plate of Brass was ordered for lettering. Furthermore, *The World Encompassed*, which was the required model for any hoax, does not use the place name "Nova Albion," but the incor-

ALTERATION OF THE LETTERS OR SPELLINGS
ON THE PLATE OF BRASS

ORIGINAL

CORRECTED

YT

IT

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I

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WHOS

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I

TO

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rect, abbreviated place name, "Albion."

Another fact of "essentially negative" evidence in *Re-examined 1977* is reputedly the absence of corrosion in the Drake plate "after centuries of exposure in the moist coastal environment where chlorides are present."²⁹ Dr. Smith, who found this "highly suspicious," was apparently unaware that Beryle Shinn had pulled the plate free from the soil over twenty miles east of the open ocean and that the absence of chloride corrosion is a trait compatible with the discovery site. It has been suggested by numerous people since 1937 that the plate might have been carried from a coastal harbor to its San Quentin discovery site. However, in 1954 a plausible explanation of why the Plate of Brass was found at Point San Quentin came to light when it was discovered that the geography of northern San Francisco Bay was compatible in form to the *Portus Novae Albionis*, an inset showing Drake's landing site on Jodocus Hondius' world map, *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* [London, 1589]. In that comparison Drake's fort appears to be located at Point San Quentin in the same general area where Shinn found his plate.³⁰

The San Francisco Bay Area was further identified with the Drake voyage in 1974 when archaeologist Charles Slaymaker discovered a 1567 silver sixpence fourteen miles north of Point San Quentin in the midden of the regions' principal Indian village now called Rancho Olímpali. The discovery horizon of the coin was dated by carbon 14 tests at 1600 A.D. ± 75 years. corrosion is compatible with the evidence that San Francisco Bay was the place of Drake's landing, and only if another landing is established could this absence of corrosion be "essentially negative" evidence about the plate's authenticity.

Additional clues to the authenticity of the plate found in the inscription—and the great unlikelihood of these elements being forged—are too myriad and complex to be detailed here. Certainly they warrant further study and discussion by experts. Considering that the

metallurgical tests on the plate were inconclusive, that evaluations of the engraving tools were not made, that the unusual letter forms have been identified with Elizabethan script, and that the extraordinary radiograph reveals previously unknown Elizabethan elements in the inscription, there should be no doubt that *Re-examined* 1977 was only a small first step in a comprehensive investigation into the origin of the Bancroft Plate of Brass signed "C G Francis Drake."

In the meantime, the present body of available evidence strongly indicates that The Bancroft Library has in its collection an authentic Elizabethan manuscript, inscribed on sixteenth-century brass, that had been erected at the Port of Nova Albion in the summer of 1579 by order of "C[aptain] G[eneral] Francis Drake."

The photograph of the plate and the radiograph are courtesy the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. All other illustrations—including the 1706 rendering of Drake's visit, published in *Drie Voormaame Zee-Togten van Franciscus Draak, Na America, Door de Suyd-Zee, Le Leyden*, by Pieter Vanden Aa, *Boekverkooper*, 1706—are courtesy the author.

Notes

- Office of Public Information, Berkeley Campus, University of California 7/26/77—KOU—File 6595.
- James D. Hart, *The Plate of Brass Re-examined*, 1977 (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1977), p. 25. The full quotation reads, "Obviously the evidence it (the report) assembles has turned out to be essentially negative." In the press release, Hart is quoted as saying, "Although the investigators involved in the recent tests did not flatly state the plate is a forgery, the assembled evidence has turned out essentially negative."
- Press Release, 2, 6.
- Ibid.*, 8.
- Re-examined* 1977, p. 80.
- Colin G. Fink, E. P. Polushkin, *Drake's Place of Brass Authenticated* (San Francisco, 1938).
- Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: Southern Voyages* (New York, 1974), p. 680. "In my opinion, the Plate is a hoax perpetrated by some collegiate joker." Morison was aware of the plate's complex patina with mineralized plant cells affixed to the outer surface of the plate, but he did not report that critical point to his readers.
- Ibid.*, 688. Advised of the error of using a retouched photograph of a tinfoil facsimile of the Plate of Brass as visual evidence that the plate was a hoax, Morison and Oxford University Press refused to correct subsequent printings, thereby invalidating opinions based on the book's subchapter, "The Plate of Brass."
- Re-examined*, 1977, p. 75.
- Ibid.*, 37, 43.
- Helen V. Michel and Frank Asaro chemical study of the Plate of Brass, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, University of California.
- Re-examined* 1977, p. 17.
- Ibid.*, 16.
- John Dee, *The Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577), p. 27.
- Morison, *European Discovery*, p. 679–80.
- "Drake's Second Voyage," F. Fletcher, Typewriter Transcript of Manuscript in British Museum (Library), Sloane MS. No. 61, circa 1925. Margin Note: "The 6th of Sept: 1578."
- Re-examined* 1977, p. 15.
- For instance, the Plate of Brass' words "KEEPEING," "AN," and "HERR" are spelled in *The World Encompassed* as "keeping," "and," and "her."
- Re-examined* 1977, p. 15.
- Ibid.*, 14.
- Ibid.*, 15.
- Ibid.*, 14.
- Statements by Wayne Shumaker, Alan Nelson, and Leatia Yeandle, *ibid.*, 14–15.
- Re-examined* 1977, p. 80.
- Both the 1628 and 1652 editions of *The World Encompassed* used the *I* form of *J* in "IUNE" in the margin note, page 64; however, the text in the 1652 edition uses an uppercase italic *J* in "JUNE", page 64, and a lowercase dotted *j* in "Majesties", page 80. This could suggest a forger was working from a 1652 edition and then corrected it against the very rare 1628 edition. This still leaves unresolved why a forger would have dotted the cancelled *J* in "IVNE" on the Plate of Brass.
- There is no model in familiar Drake literature for the "WHOS" spelling used in the first incision on the Plate of Brass. The change from the external *S* form to the internal *S* form demonstrates that the *E* was a purposeful deletion, not an oversight. "WHOS" is a natural Elizabethan variant spelling of "WHOSE," but there is no reason for a hoaxer to use this variant spelling and then cancel it.
- Page 7 in *The World Encompassed* (1628 ed.) should have been numbered p. 3.
- Ibid.*, 79, 80.
- Re-examined* 1977, p. 30.
- Robert H. Power, "Portus Novae Albionis Rediscovered?", *Pacific Discovery Magazine*, May-June, 1954.

“Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Company”—

*The Historical Collection at
CHS' Los Angeles History Center*

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Students and scholars of Southern California history have long been familiar with both the photograph credit line, “Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Company,” and the historic photographs of C. C. Pierce. In 1977, Title Insurance and Trust Company of Los Angeles generously donated its famous Historical Collection to the California Historical Society. Consisting of 18,650 positive prints and 13,500 negatives, this pictorial archive superbly documents the history of Los Angeles and its environs from the 1860's to the 1930's. Long housed at the company's Spring Street building, the collection has been transferred to the Society's new History Center at 6300 Wilshire Boulevard. As a result of this momentous donation, the Society will be able to offer for the first time in Southern California a collection of great magnitude and scholarly significance.

Title Insurance and Trust Company of Los Angeles established its Historical Collection in 1941 with the purchase of the prints and negatives of the pioneer Los Angeles photographer, Charles C. Pierce. From that date, the company used this rich resource for its own promotional purposes and made the collection available to historians and pictorial researchers. The collection achieved its greatest eminence under the energetic and able direction of company historian William Wilcox Robinson and his assistant Dolores Nariman. Robinson himself used the collection to illustrate a series of company publications on the history of various local cities and counties, as well as for the highly respected *Panorama, A Picture History of Southern California* (1953). Recognizing the contributions of Pierce in understanding the history of Los Angeles, Robinson wrote in the acknowledgments, “In part this picture-history is a tribute to the memory of the indefatigable C. C. Pierce.”

The heart of this Historical Collection has always been the “C. C. Pierce Collection of Rare, Historical and Curious Photographs, Illustrating California, the Pacific

Mr. Kurutz is CHS Library Director.

Photographer Charles C. Pierce came to Los Angeles in 1886 and recorded the area's history with his camera until his death in 1946. Photo courtesy Henry E. Huntington Library.



The staff of J. B. Blanchard's Plaza Gallery in 1890. Pierce worked in this adobe structure before opening his Tourist View Depot.



Coast and the Southwest." Pierce, from the time of his arrival in Los Angeles in 1886 to the sale of his collection in 1941, created the single finest photographic record devoted to the Los Angeles area. As a consequence, it is not surprising that historians and curators have reproduced Pierce photographs to embellish scores of books, articles, exhibitions, and films.

Despite the photographer's great contribution in visually preserving the history of Southern California, he remains an enigmatic figure in the scantily documented history of Los Angeles photography. According to avail-

able evidence, the photographer was born in 1853 and moved to Los Angeles from Chicago in 1886 in search of good health. Apparently the environment of the Los Angeles Basin soothed his afflictions, enabling him to live to the grand age of 93.

When Pierce migrated to the Southland, the local papers were boasting, "Los Angeles is booming and is likely to boom for years." Sensing the transformation of the "Queen of the Cow Counties" to a growing city, Pierce set out to take the town. As the story goes, Pierce first survived economically by going from house to



Blanche Stuart Scott, the first American woman aviator, posed here in the plane she flew in the Dominguez Field Meet of 1912. She flew until 1916 but never secured a pilot's license.



house and business to business, persuading the proprietors to permit him to take pictures of their homes and buildings. This door-to-door approach resulted in a superb documentary of the "booming" city during that volatile era.

Like many of his fellow professionals, Pierce engaged in many partnerships and frequently moved his business. Financially, few young photographers could survive on their own. The first mention of Pierce in the local directories appears in 1888. According to the entry, the Chicago photographer was located at 532 Downey Avenue in partnership with Albert W. Lohn.

In 1890, Pierce moved into the center of town by obtaining a position with J. B. Blanchard. The latter operated the well-known Plaza Gallery in a quaint adobe not far from the old Plaza Church. In a short time, however, Pierce dissolved that relationship and moved to the north part of the same building with A. E. McConnell. There, the two conducted a view and commercial photograph business known as the Tourist View Depot.

By the turn-of-the-century, Pierce possessed enough means to establish his own gallery at 313 South Spring Street. At one time, the noted Southern California writer J. Smeaton Chase worked in the studio. Apparently, C. C. Pierce and Company flourished, as the photographer expanded the business by opening a supply shop specializing in Kodaks. Haddie G. Pierce (probably his wife) served as the company's secretary and treasurer.

As the business grew, Pierce moved from the downtown area out to 1572 West Pico Street. From that location, the photographer expanded his historical collection for commercial purposes. Assembling a selection of over 14,000 historic photographs, Pierce produced 6" x 8" and 8" x 10" views in quantity and even made enlargements on bromide paper for museums, libraries, and private collections.

Because of his interest in preserving and collecting history, Pierce did not limit himself to his own work.

Undoubtedly his assistants added to the C. C. Pierce Historical Collection. As well, he copied the works of his contemporaries and those pioneer photographers who photographed the city in the 1860's and 1870's. For this practice Pierce has been mildly criticized, but his overall contributions cannot be minimized.

Pierce died in 1946 after sixty fruitful years of recording the changing face of Southern California with his camera. Fortunately, his works have been preserved in a number of locations. While the corpus of his negatives and prints were acquired by Title Insurance and Trust Company, the Huntington Library purchased over 10,000 of his views. As well, Pierce photos may be found at the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History, the University of California, Los Angeles, and Security Pacific National Bank.

The general contents of the collection are described in a brochure Pierce produced from his Pico Street studios. The subject matter reflects the interests of that era, and some of the prints can be described as ridiculous or humorous by today's standards. For example, Pierce included staged scenes of outlaws robbing coaches and

In the early 1900's, like today, Southern Californians flocked to the ocean on warm days, turning the sandy beaches into a congested tangle of horses and buggies.

Dressed in its finest uniforms, the Los Angeles Bicycle Squad pedaled down Broadway during the May 24, 1904, Police Parade.



curious prints of rabbits with donkey ears and countless views of goats, burros, snakes, gila monsters, and chuckawallas. With the exception of sections on Chinese, Indians, and Mexicans, minorities are not represented in any systematic manner.

Nonetheless, the majority of Pierce's work is composed of images depicting a wide and important variety of subject matter. Without doubt, the most valuable portion is the section illustrating "the wonderful growth of our cities and towns." Over 1000 rich pictures detail the history of Los Angeles from its days of crude adobes dripping with tar pitch to the beginnings of a modern and congested metropolis. Pierce conveniently arranged the photographs by street (e.g. Spring Street), by subject (e.g., the Plaza), and by event (e.g., the Los Angeles Fiesta). Needless to say, such a decade-by-decade approach is most useful to the urban and architectural historian.

The photographer, as noted elsewhere, took special care to record prominent business blocks, homes, and districts. Pictures of such well-known edifices as the Baker Block, Pico House, Temple Block, and Don Abel Stearns' "El Palacio" adobe abound. Views of the Plaza and Sonora Town permanently preserve the Hispanic character of the pueblo. Photographs of nearby orange groves, railroad depots, and the Wolfskill Tract recorded the impact of real estate booms.

Importantly, Pierce and his associates skillfully photographed the growth of the nearby cities and towns that would eventually form the Los Angeles sprawl. The appeal of health, wealth, and sunshine attracted thousands of easterners, and Pierce supplied views of elegant hotels, citrus groves, and land auctions held in such communities as Montrose and Monrovia. In the collection are found photographs of the San Fernando Valley, Pasadena, Santa Monica, San Pedro, Hollywood, Long Beach, Catalina, Venice and the outlying cities of San Diego, Anaheim, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, and Santa Barbara.

In addition to illustrating the growth of the Southland over half a century, Pierce collected and made photographs of the natural wonders that attracted so many people to the area. Views of the Yosemite Valley, the High Sierra, the Big Trees, and the picturesque Colorado Desert preserve images of the region's beauty spots.

Particularly useful today are photographs of California's important nineteenth-century industries. Pierce provided pictures of the borax industry near Death Valley, mining in the mountains of Southern California and along the Colorado River, oil fields, agriculture, ranching, logging and such lesser-known but unique adventures as the Alligator Farm and Cawston's Ostrich Farm in South Pasadena.

Southern California's fascinating transportation history provided a wealth of subject matter for Pierce's studio, too. Pierce proudly described the collection he had amassed as follows:

[It] takes us from the ox cart to the aeroplane: the covered wagon days; the stage lines with hold-ups and Indians, Everything from Pack Burros and the one-horse chaise to the twenty-mule team outfits, —the first locomotives and the building of the first railways, —the great sailing vessels that came around the Horn, —the first automobiles and those that followed, the bicycles; high ones, the tandems and the safeties. Streetcars: covers the many changes from the one-mule car to the extensive cable-car system, the trolley bus, and on through to modern electric lines, with many portraits of the leading men at the head of these companies.

Pierce also included photos of such remarkable experiments as Professor T. S. C. Lowe's great incline railway near Pasadena, Horace Dobbin's cycle way, and Fawkes' Folly, a monorail system constructed near Burbank in 1910! Pierce concluded the transportation section with photographs of dirigibles, blimps, the Graf Zeppelin, and the first international aviation meet held at Dominguez Field in 1910.

The history of irrigation and water supply has always been a key factor in the story of Southern California,



Cabezon, the powerful chief of the Cahuilla Indians, posed with his silver-tipped cane for this studio portrait. The Title Insurance and Trust Collection contains many superlative views of California and Southwestern Indians.

and Pierce's collection contains photographs of the old Spanish zanjás, windmills, dams, flumes, and the great Owens Valley Aqueduct. As a portent of the future, one of the water-gathering devices Pierce photographed was powered by a solar motor.

Respectful of California's Spanish and Mexican past and its appeal to the tourist, the photographer developed a collection romantically called "Adobe Days." Pierce wrote:

California history began in the carefree days when the people lived a friendly, hospitable life, and their homes were built out of adobe, the soil of their own sun-burned lands. For more than fifty years we have been adding to our collection many pictures of these adobe homes, both small and great, from San Diego to San Francisco Bay. Many of these homes have long ago passed into oblivion and others are fast melting away; but they all, even in ruins, form a pleasant link in the first beginnings of California.

Following much the same theme, Pierce accumulated a large group of mission photographs to demonstrate their architectural beauty as well as the activities of the Franciscans. Containing over 1200 images, the collection was described by Pierce as “a very extensive and superior collection of this subject, covering a period of over sixty years.”

The entire pictorial archive is supplemented by an extensive portrait collection. Composed of photographs made from engravings, woodcuts, and other sources, Pierce included well over 1000 portraits of "well-known men and women of California from the days of the dons to the present." Over the years the Pierce portrait collection has proven to be of great value to historians.

A prize acquisition for C. C. Pierce & Co. was the purchase of 2000 glass-plate negatives made by the prolific southwestern writer, George Wharton James. Known as an eccentric but eloquent booster of California and the Southwest, James spent decades writing and lecturing about the region's natural wonders, Indian tribes, pioneers, missions, and residential promise.

Southwestern writer, traveler, and photographer George Wharton James stopped for rest and repair on the floor of the Grand Canyon. Pierce purchased from James many of his negatives of the Grand Canyon, Colorado Desert, and the Southwest.

On his frequent peregrinations through the mountains and deserts of the Southwest, James obtained numerous photographs to illustrate his books, articles, and lectures. A careful and sympathetic observer of the Indian, James created a remarkable ethnographic record with his dry-plate camera. Pierce enthusiastically characterized the collection in his brochure:

This collection of photographs of the aborigines of the Southwest, who are rapidly passing away, is very extensive, and is of unique scientific interest, being photographed from 1890 to 1905, before the commercializing of the ceremonies.

With his camera James recorded the customs, manner of life, ceremonies, arts, occupations, and games of the Hopi, Wallapi, Yaqui, Navajo, Mojave, Yuma, Apache, Chemcheuvi, Havasupai, Pima, Zuñi, Pueblo, and Paiute tribes. The former preacher also made a fine photographic study of the mission Indians living at Temecula, Pala, and the Cahuilla rancherías near Palm Springs.

Many of James' photographs appeared in his popular books such as *Through Ramona's Country* (1908), *In and Around the Grand Canyon* (1900), *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region* (1903), and the classic, two-volume *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert* (1906). The amateur ethnologist also contributed substantially to the study of Indian baskets and blankets, and his photographs highlighted the still useful *Indian Basketry* (1901) and *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (1914).

Certainly, the James photographs of California and Southwestern Indians represent the first ethnographic collection of any value acquired by the California Historical Society. While James' photographs are not of the artistic quality of those taken by Edward S. Curtis or A. C. Vroman, they remain an impressive body of ethnographic data.

In addition to the Pierce and James photographs, the Society's Southern California Historical Collection contains a number of photograph albums, miscellaneous prints, and panoramic views. The most important album



is a striking series of over 200 photographs documenting the bombing of the Los Angeles Times Building in 1910, an event which literally rocked the history of labor in Los Angeles and around the country. Filled with views of gnarled and twisted steel, dead bodies, and wreckage, the album may have been used as evidence in the famous McNamara Brothers trial. The album also contains photographs of defense attorney Clarence Darrow, unexploded bombs, and the home of *Times* publisher, General Harrison Gray Otis.

Other albums donated by Title Insurance and Trust Company depict Los Angeles and Southern California in the 1890's, the beautiful Dos Pueblos Rancho near Santa Barbara, and the construction of the coast highway in the Oxnard region of Ventura County.

An additional collection of over 600 photographs illustrates the activities of the Los Angeles City Department of Public Works during the 1930's. Responsible for changing much of the landscape of the Los Angeles Basin, that department constructed roads, storm drains, sewage disposal plants, bridges, and the famous Figueroa Street tunnel. In a unique bit of social history, this

collection contains photographs of sanitation workers picking up the city's refuse and the activities of the city dump.

The photographic collection at the new History Center will be augmented by a small reference collection. This will consist of bibliographies, indices, journals, and books about the history of Los Angeles.

Access to the pictorial collections will be gained through the assistance of a librarian working with a detailed card index and special subject listings. In the near future, the Society will also introduce a microfilm re-

trieval system. This will greatly reduce research time and at the same time protect the original photographs from unnecessary handling. Photographic reproductions of the materials in the collection will be available for modest fees. The collection will be open to the public Monday through Friday from 1 to 4 P.M.

Fortunately, the Title Insurance and Trust Company donation included a nearly complete set of duplicate prints. This duplicate set has been transferred to the Society's library in San Francisco and will enable the Society to provide statewide pictorial coverage.



Douglas Fairbanks happily shouted to the crowd, "We have gathered here to welcome Will Rogers back." The enthusiastic citizens of Beverly Hills elected the famed humorist as their mayor in 1926.

Book Reviews

The Mexican War in Baja California: The Memorandum of Captain Henry W. Halleck Concerning His Expeditions in Lower California, 1846-1848.

Edited and introduced by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1977. Baja California Travels Series, 39. 208 pp. Folding map. \$24.00.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, Professor of History at the University of San Francisco, Technical Director of the Historical Archive of Baja California Sur, and author of books and articles on the early history of the Californias.

A great deal of research and writing on the war between the United States and Mexico has resulted in excellent studies and documentary works. Most of these, however, have treated the campaigns of Taylor and Scott in central Mexico and those of Kearny, Stockton, and others in New Mexico and Alta California—those areas where the United States achieved unquestionable victories. Very little attention has been given by U.S. historians to Baja California during the war, probably because, in the main, the U.S. was not particularly successful there; and most Mexican historians have ignored this aspect of national history with the exception of the heroic battles of Mulegé and San José del Cabo. Thus, this latest volume in the Baja California Travels Series fills a decided void in the history of the Californias between 1846 and 1848 by providing both a succinct account of military actions in Baja California, as well as an overview linking those aspects of the war with activities in Alta California, Mexico City, and Washington.

In his lengthy, well-documented introduction, Professor Nunis, in essence, supplies a concise history of the war in the Californias from political, military, and diplomatic viewpoints. This introduction, in itself, is an important contribution, but the inclusion of the Halleck Memorandum and an appendix of documentary accounts of the war adds detail to an understanding of U.S. strategy during the war and its aftermath. A prologue and an epilogue provide biographical data on Halleck, who, as did many U.S. military men of the period, became a man of means in San Francisco and a Civil War hero.

As important as the Halleck document are those included in the appendices. Reports on the battles of Mulegé, La Paz,

San José del Cabo, San Vicente, and Todos Santos, as well as the rescue of U.S. prisoners and the pursuit of Mexican troops, all by eyewitnesses, are well annotated, as is the Memorandum. Contemporary drawings by William H. Meyers of naval action, glossaries, a folding map of the area under study, and a bibliographic essay further enhance this volume.

While excellent overall, there is an inconsistency in the accenting and spelling of Spanish names and a few major errors are evident ("La Muella" for La Muela; "Valera" for Roque Varela; "Villiano" for Villarino; "Los Choros" for Los Chorros; "Balo" for Belloc; the founding of Todos Santos in 1734 for 1733 and Santiago in 1724 for 1721; and the mislocation of La Laguna on the map). Further, many Baja Californians such as Pablo de la Toba, Antonio Ruffo, Antonio Belloc, Domingo Burgoin, and Loreto Talamantes, listed as refugees to Alta California as collaborators, did not leave, but rather remained as influential citizens in Baja California Sur. Finally, to this reviewer there is no question of a Mexican victory at Mulegé in October, 1847; the U.S. wanted to capture the town and was simply prevented from doing so by Pineda and his men!

As always with the Baja California Travels Series, this book is beautifully printed by Grant Dahlstrom and bound by Bela Blau. As a history of the war from the U.S. viewpoint, this is a very valuable contribution and should be in every Californiana library.

A British Ranchero in Old California: The Life and Times of Henry Dalton and the Rancho Azusa.

By Sheldon G. Jackson. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company and Azusa Pacific College, 1977. 265 pp. \$15.50.)

Reviewed by John Caughey, Professor of History Emeritus at University of California, Los Angeles. His most recent book, in collaboration with LaRee Caughey, is Los Angeles, Biography of a City.

Historian Robert G. Cleland firmly established that it was the ranchero or trader-ranchero who dominated the Southern California scene through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. To date biographies of the area's notables

are less adequate than for the northern half of the province, represented in books on Sutter, Larkin, Marsh, Vallejo, Bidwell, and others. Susanna Dakin did justice to Hugo Reid, Iris Wilson to William Wolfskill, Doris Wright to Abel Stearns through the Mexican period, and scattered essays tell about B. D. Wilson. A gap on the shelf has been reserved for Henry Dalton.

Using the Dalton Papers, the records of Rancho Azusa, and cross-references to other such papers at the Huntington Library, Sheldon G. Jackson now gives us a most illuminating study of trader-ranchero Dalton.

Like most of the above-named, Dalton came to California after a long stopover in an older part of Spanish America. In 1821 at age eighteen he left London for Callao, arriving just as the Spanish restrictive system was crumbling. He became a protégé of "Mr. Crawley" of Gibbs, Crawley and Co. but soon launched into business on his own with a store and warehouse at Callao and ships plying to points north and south and occasionally to London. In the winter of 1841-42 he went as supercargo on one of his ships to Mexico and then similarly to California.

Coming as a trader, Dalton opened a store and made Los Angeles the base for traffic up and down the coast and to Mexico and Hawaii. He purchased and chartered ships for the purpose and accepted hides and furs or bill of exchange. Late in 1844, with a down-payment of \$1,000, he bought Rancho Azusa on the San Gabriel, some $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues of land. In goods and produce he was to pay another \$6,000, which he estimated as the value of buildings, dam and irrigation ditch, stock, and vineyard of 7,000 vines. He soon added plantings of tobacco, cotton, alfalfa, and grain, doubled the vineyard, and operated a winery, tannery, and sawmill. From the ayuntamiento he asked for a grant of canyon land and from Governor Pico two leagues of land once used by Mission San Gabriel. Later he bought Rancho Santa Anita, rounding out his holdings to 45,000 acres. On July 3, 1847, he was baptized and on the 14th he married María Guadalupe Zamorano.

Multiple venturing characterized the times, as shows in the careers of Sutter, Larkin, Stearns, and Wilson. Dalton's came to include an unsuccessful attempt to subdivide and sell part of his lands. He also pursued the will-of-the-wisp of collecting from the Mexican government for certain losses incurred incident to the transfer of sovereignty. His worst setback came from American squatters who took over some of his best land. And for him the crowning disaster was that

after his claim was approved, surveyor Henry Hancock, seemingly maliciously, drew the lines to exclude most of the rancho buildings and irrigated fields. Twenty-nine years of litigation failed to bring a reversal.

Jackson's study is a substantial contribution on the man and the period.

The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, the Evolution and Implementation of Water Policy: An Historical Perspective.

By W. Turrentine Jackson and Alan M. Paterson. (Davis: California Water Resources Center, University of California, Davis, 1977. v, 192 pp. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Reviews Editor of California History.

During the past academic quarter, the History Department at U.C. Berkeley has sponsored a series of talks on "Jobs for Historians." Notably absent from the discussions has been that most traditional of history vocations, teaching, for the current supply of history teachers at all educational levels overwhelms the demand. Instead, the meetings have dealt with "alternative" careers, including that of "public historian," people who do historical research for public agencies and put contemporary public policy decisions into historical perspective. U.C. Santa Barbara even has begun a graduate program to train such public historians.

The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, the Evolution and Implementation of Water Policy serves as a model for the kind of work public historians should be producing. Turrentine Jackson and Alan Paterson have written a history of the attempts to prevent the incursion of salt water into the delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers since 1920. Their work provides crucial background material for understanding current debates about the future of delta agriculture, the expansion of federal and state water projects in the Central Valley and, in particular, the desirability of the proposed Peripheral Canal.

The report discusses the origins and impact of both the federal Central Valley Project and the State Water Plan. It

Hunters with their dogs launched a small boat in the Sacramento River Delta c.1890. The delta is a major wildlife refuge.



also covers past battles over the Reber Plan and other schemes to place physical barriers on portions of San Francisco Bay. Among the authors' findings are the fact that the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation has no legal obligation to control delta salinity in the operation of its projects and that the self-appointed spokesmen for the delta usually have not been the farmers who have most to lose, but industrialists and real estate interests concerned about future development in Contra Costa County. The report takes no stand on the Peripheral Canal itself, but the authors do include valuable material on the origin of the canal proposal in the sixties and its reincarnation in the middle seventies.

Jackson and Paterson cover many technical matters in some detail, but the authors struggle admirably to keep their prose

free of jargon and their material comprehensible to the layman. They even inject some humor into the text: Chapter XII is entitled "The Great San Joaquin Drainage Problem or 'What's Bad Water Like You Doing in a Nice Valley Like This?'" Such writing may shock bureaucrats and perplex scientific experts, but it helps attract and sustain general readers. Surely democracy is strengthened if more people come to realize that present economic and social conditions are usually the result of easily-understood past human actions and that it is possible for citizens to become well-informed about even so complicated an issue as the Peripheral Canal. Perhaps the greatest service "public historians" can perform is to de-mystify issues and encourage popular participation in public policy decisions.

Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley.

Edited by Jessie A. Garrett and Ronald C. Larson. (Fullerton: California State University, 1977. 233 pp. Paper \$7.95.)

Reviewed by Donald Teruo Hata, Jr., Professor of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills.

This compilation of twenty transcripts of oral history interviews by student and faculty members of the Japanese American Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, was originally intended to be a survey of attitudes among non-Japanese residents of the Owens Valley toward the sudden arrival of over 10,000 persons of Japanese ancestry at a hastily constructed federal confinement site at Manzanar, California, during the chaotic year after the declaration of war against Imperial Japan. From the time that the final manuscript had been compiled and a title selected, the book became a cause célèbre among certain Japanese Americans because of its original title, *Jap Camp*. The fact that it caused so much public brouhaha during the year preceding its publication under the revised title, *Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley*, would probably go unnoticed by scholars and the general public were it not for a cryptic, unsigned four-page "Publisher's Note" which precedes the title page. Had it not been for the conspicuously unconventional inclusion of this statement between the cover and title page, *Camp and Community* would be deserving of a generally positive review for its exploration of a hitherto unexamined dimension of the Japanese American evacuation and incarceration. But the "Publisher's Note" raises questions and allegations relating to academic freedom which require a discussion of the title controversy.

There is little doubt that the work provides useful information for a fuller understanding of the subject and serves as an example of a much-needed movement from well-worn general statements to systematic research and documentation of specific subtopics. During the past decade, for example, numerous scholarly and popular articles and books have created a widespread awareness of the evacuation and incarceration. However, an historiographical review of these publications reveals that most authors have repeated themes such as "official villains" (e.g., Franklin D. Roosevelt who issued Executive Order 9066 and General John L. DeWitt who influenced and implemented the evacuation policy)

and basic constitutional questions such as the denial of due process. The importance of these introductory surveys notwithstanding, the same general issues have been repeated to the extent that knowledgeable readers find so-called "new" works predictable and mundane.

Two recent efforts have reflected growing sophistication and imagination. Michi Nishiura Weglyn's *Years of Infamy* (William Morrow and Company, 1976) revealed an ominous Western Hemisphere-wide dimension of the U.S. government's attempts to extend its evacuation and incarceration policy to include persons of Japanese ancestry throughout the nations of Central and South America. John Modell's *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicles from An American Concentration Camp* (University of Illinois Press, 1973) added the candid perceptions of an "insiders account" of daily life behind barbed wire. Aside from these notable exceptions, however, most of the existing literature on the subject is characterized by a certain stagnancy of perspective, albeit overwhelmingly sympathetic to the evacuee/incarcerees, and a paucity of imaginative research.

It was therefore with great interest that the most recent publication by the Japanese American Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, was awaited. Its *Voices Long Silent: An Oral Inquiry Into the Japanese American Evacuation* (1974) has provided scholars and students with a rich reservoir of oral interviews among former evacuee/incarcerees in a format convenient for reference by writers as well as instructors. The project's use of students of both non-Japanese and Japanese ancestry served to illustrate the relevance of the Japanese American experience to all Americans. The oral history interviews proved to be substantive and innovative teaching alternatives to the more conventional written assignments in the classroom.

The oral interviews in *Camp and Community* reflect a wide range of occupational, social, and educational backgrounds and ages among those who resided outside the barbed-wire and watchtower perimeters of the Manzanar site. They include former camp administrators and construction workers, men and women proprietors of local businesses, veterans, politicians, and a Chinese American woman and her Hawaiian-born mother who were the only Asian residents of the region at the time of the Japanese arrival in 1942. Following an initial fear of the evacuees, which in large measure was the result of hysterical newspaper headlines and radio reports following the Pearl Harbor attack, the Owens Valley residents interviewed eventually became indifferent and

sometimes even sympathetic to their 10,000 incarcerated neighbors at Manzanar.

A controversy about the original title of the albeit important investigation began shortly after the approaching publication of *Jap Camp* was announced in the Fall 1976 Oral History Association *Newsletter*. According to the "Publisher's Note" published in the volume, at that time "the CSUF Department of History received a telephone call from the chairman of an ethnic concerns committee for a regional division of a national Japanese American association, expressing his committee's concern over the title of the forthcoming publication." The use of lower case letters struck this reviewer immediately as a transparent attempt to avoid identifying a committee of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). The reasons for the superficial subterfuge were unclear, however, and inquiries were made directly to the Oral History Project at Fullerton. A telephone conversation with Professor Arthur A. Hansen, director of the program, confirmed the identity of the Japanese American group as the Ethnic Concerns Committee of the Pacific Southwest District of the Japanese American Citizens League. Hansen took responsibility for the unsigned "Publisher's Note" in which appears the following description of the gathering in Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo" where Hansen and other members of the Fullerton project met with the JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee:

They were confronted by a group who, in arrogating the role of cultural commissars for the Japanese American community, treated them as though they were "deviationists" from or "enemies" of the "official" ethnic orthodoxy. Although at the outset of the meeting the committee chairman allowed the visitors to "justify" the offending title for their publication, it soon became apparent to them that the committee was less interested in listening to explanatory discourse than in meting out censure for "heretical" behavior and for coercing a change in titles.

When asked about his lack of specificity in describing the JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee, Dr. Hansen explained that in order for the book to be published with the imprimatur of California State University, Fullerton, the campus legal officer, Gordon Bakken, required the deletion of names of specific individuals and organizations in the original draft of the unsigned "Publisher's Note" to avoid lawsuits by Japanese Americans.

If the actions and statements by the JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee members were indeed as abusive and irrational as described in the "Publisher's Note," one wonders to what

extent the principle of academic freedom and the judgment of university researchers has been eroded by the policy attributed to the CSUF legal office? The denial of the right to confront one's accusers was, after all, one of the basic civil rights withheld from Japanese Americans during the evacuation and incarceration episode. And is the principle of "scholarly integrity" truly achieved by changing the title to spare a young woman from seeing a term repugnant to her father and over 112,000 of his fellow Japanese Americans, as claimed by the publisher, a term which is unfortunately still in use today?

The answer lies in the last line of the original "Introduction" to this volume: "The cancer of prejudice will never be eradicated by name calling, selective indignation or mere exhortation." Had the persons responsible for the book merely practiced what they preached, differences of opinion over the title might persist, but the principle of academic freedom would be invoked for a clearer and better cause.

Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific.

By Ernest A. Wiltsee. (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, 1976. x, 421 pp. \$35.00.)

Reviewed by John Kortum, a student, traveler, and sailor, who recently sailed in a yacht along the routes used by the gold rush steamers of the Pacific.

Steamship arrivals in the early 1850's at San Francisco were momentous events. These Gold Rush steamers, the conveyors of news, mail, and passengers, brought contact from the outside world and took away gold "treasure." They affected nearly every transported Yankee's life—in particular—through the decade following 1849. Their importance cannot be slighted. Ernest A. Wiltsee in *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* pays tribute to their significance and celebrates their perilous careers.

Published originally in 1938 by the Grabhorn Press, this book is a reprint. Its second coming has good reason; it is a classic of first-hand research into a subject thick with drama. Never wandering far off course, Wiltsee charts the histories of the early Pacific Coast steamship lines and details at length their vicious competition. The text is sprinkled with the stories of twenty-one separate steamship disasters, tropical

fevers, riots in Panama, wars of filibustering, Latin politicking, bribery, price wars, and other sly financial manipulations. The book catches the flavor of those boisterous pioneer times. It makes fascinating reading, but by no means can it be deigned "popular history." It is a historian's history book.

Two major steamer routes led to Gold Rush California from the East Coast, one via the Isthmus of Panama, the other via the Isthmus of Nicaragua. Both were hazardous at their inception; in the early days steamships simply deposited passengers on one side, leaving them to their own means to find their way across. During these isthmian crossings, passengers—now adventurers in the jungle—risked all manner of tropical fevers, politely termed "isthmus fever" or "Panama fever." The high rate of fever mortality in Panama was parlayed into propaganda favoring the Nicaraguan route. But death came another way to the Nicaraguan wayfarers; in little over a year (1852-53), the Vanderbilt Line servicing Nicaragua wrecked four of its six Pacific Coast steamers. Such were the vagaries of isthmian travel.

Wiltsee's interest in these steamship routes—the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., Empire City Line, Law's Line, the first Vanderbilt line, the Nicaragua Steamship Co., the New York and San Francisco Steamship Co., Vanderbilt's Independent Opposition Line—evolved through his fascination with propaganda handstamps. In attempts to usurp from the P.M.S.S. Co. the government mail contract, opposition lines rubber-stamped the unofficial mail they carried with such propaganda as "Via Nicaragua—Ahead of the Mails." Letter-writers, depending where their sympathies lay, stipulated by which route they wished their letters to travel and, further, by which particular steamship they held favorite. Such were the mails in more exciting times.

This reprint is timely. As present debate flares over the Panama Canal and hints come forth about a new trans-Nicaraguan canal, this book makes proper reading for historians keeping up with current events. We find again history repeats itself: in 1850 Cornelius Vanderbilt and others signed with the Nicaraguan government an eighty-five-year contract for construction and control of a trans-isthmian canal.

I initially read this book during a southbound yachting voyage along the Pacific Coast of Central America. As a description of early U.S.-Central American relations, I found this work particularly useful in assessing my perceptions of the Latin people's attitude toward U.S. citizens. Their attitude, which I found to be a cautious envy of Yankee industriousness, is highly understandable considering that during the 1850's a megalomaniac North American, the filibusterer

William Walker, invaded Nicaragua and ascended to its presidency, using his powers to the benefit of an American steamship company. Walker's defeat came only under the combined forces of other Central American republics, forces aided by British warships and partly financed by Commodore Vanderbilt, who was jealous of his competitor's profits.

As a clear narration of important events in American history, this book is pleasantly free of lubricating interpretation. Filled with primary sources, it was the first to coalesce the diverse elements of a virgin subject. Though succeeded by later books such as John Kemble's *The Panama Route* (which was written concurrently with and unbeknownst to Wiltsee), *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* has already and always will stand the test of time as a solid history.

Bernard Maybeck: Artisan, Architect, Artist.

By Kenneth H. Cardwell. (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1977, 255 pp. \$24.95.)

Reviewed by Elinor Richey, author of books, articles, and encyclopedia essays on architecture and biography.

Among California architecture devotees probably no book has been so awaited as this first biography of Berkeley's colorful, innovative architect. This group of readers will find Kenneth Cardwell's work, twenty years in preparation, well worth the waiting. They will delight in the rare personal photos and in the views of structures long demolished, as well as photographs of Bernard Maybeck's existing work. They will welcome, too, the painstakingly detailed chronicle of Maybeck's life (1862-1957) and his long career. There was his happy childhood in New York, son of a German-born woodcarver. After quitting a furniture-making apprenticeship, Maybeck studied architecture in Paris at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Rather unsuccessful practice in New York and Kansas City preceded his trek West.

Of course Maybeck found his bearings in Berkeley, where he fell in love with the color and workability of California redwood and with the hillsides and casual life style. These inspired him to invent a new kind of architecture that uniquely blended elements of Swiss, Japanese, and Beaux-Arts classicism—simple shingled houses with gable roofs, deep eaves, open planning, and raftered ceilings. His work and that of followers has been called the Bay Area Shingle Style.

Ever restless, Maybeck also experimented with other forms and materials and with fire-proofing; he even concocted a siding of burlap sacks dipped in concrete. He not only designed residences (about 150 of them) but such notable public structures as the First Christian Science Church in Berkeley, the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco, and (with Julia Morgan) the Hearst Memorial Gymnasium at the University of California, Berkeley.

While the Maybeck aficionado can count his blessings, the general reader may feel less gratified. The uninitiated would have profited from an introductory chapter delineating Maybeck's stature and contribution before being told, in strict chronology, the ancestry, background, and childhood of a person of but scant acquaintance. Maybeck, for all his local fame, is largely unknown, having done the bulk of his work in Berkeley in relative obscurity.

The general reader will also miss (as did this writer who formerly lived in a neighborhood abounding with Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan designs) an assessment of Maybeck's work in the context of that of his distinguished contemporaries. Astonishingly, Wright's name does not appear in the index. A comparison to Wright would have enhanced the story of Maybeck who, unlike Wright, considered the small house and humble client well worth attention and who was ever seeking more economic ways to build. Wright catered to the rich and utilized the most expensive materials. Yet Maybeck, the democratic son of an artisan, loved and courted beauty no less ardently than did his imperious colleague.

Chinatown's Angry Angel: The Story of Donaldina Cameron.

By Mildred Crowl Martin. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1977. 308 pp. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by Philip P. Choy, architect and frequent reviewer for California History.

At the time when the Chinese first arrived in California during the gold rush, China was a semi-feudal society dominated by the Confucian social order of master and slaves. At the bottom of this social order were the underprivileged who under duress were forced to sell their young daughters at a

very early age into human bondage to serve the privileged class as maid servants, concubines, and prostitutes.

In early California the practice of buying and selling young Chinese girls fell into the control of anti-social organizations known as "Tongs." In the predominantly male population, females were sought-after as wives and concubines. More often they were used and abused as prostitutes patronized both by Chinese and white males alike.

Somehow, when we speak of Chinese prostitution, it evokes images more notorious and immoral than Curt Gentry's "Madams of San Francisco" and more sinful and sinister than the "Barbary Coast" of Herbert Asbury. Yet these equally infamous activities existed side by side in rough-and-tumble San Francisco.

Chinatown's Angry Angel is a story of a young woman named Donaldina Cameron who at the turn of this century dedicated her entire life to the rescuing of Chinese slave girls from the clutches of the Tongs. The missionary home at 920 Sacramento Street in San Francisco, where she harbored the unfortunates, stands in her honor as Cameron House. By her "adopted daughters" she was affectionately called "Lo Mo" (mother); by her enemies she was cursed as "Fahn Quai" (the barbarian devil). The story of her selfless sacrifices is by no means new. An account of her exploits was written in 1931 by author Carol Green Wilson in *Chinatown Quest* and reprinted in 1974.

In the re-telling of the story of Donaldina Cameron, the author Mildred Martin recognized the changing of times by prefacing her account: "In a time of turmoil when people search for identity, freedom and social reforms, it seems appropriate to tell the story of a woman who lived through another tumultuous period." Yet, on the whole, Martin merely regurgitates that naive theme as written by Wilson forty-six years ago.

Almost single handedly with the help of Sgt. Manion, a San Francisco policeman, Cameron supposedly wiped out prostitution in the Chinese community. The mere mentioning of her name "Fahn Quai" drove fear into the hearts of the Tongs. Likewise, one warning from the newly-arrived Sgt. Manion caused "strong men of the Tongs obediently" to "stash away their hatchets. . . ." As in a western horse opera, the heroine in white charged into the den of iniquity to rescue the "children of darkness." Identified before the rescue as "forlorn painted creatures" of sin, after their rescue they transcend into bright-eyed, intelligent, lovely little creatures capable of "reciting the scripture and singing like little birds"—ad nauseum. Evidently not every slave girl

wanted to be rescued, however, as some had to be "picked up bodily and carried." Nor did every rescued girl submit readily to the blessings of God. But it was the hope and aspiration of Donaldina Cameron that her family of converts would return to China to spread the gospel. With optimism she declared, "I will sow them among the heathen, and they shall remember me in far countries."

Viewed in the broader context of social history, the Donaldina Cameron story is a reflection of that era known as "Gunboat Diplomacy" when American capitalists anticipated the domination of the potential wealth of China and American missionaries envisioned doing God's work among the 400 million heathens. Marching shoulder to shoulder with American sailors and marines, they advanced upon the soil of China. With this prospect before her, Donaldina Cameron marvelled, "If China could be saved!"

If Cameron and her contemporaries could see the China of today—developing without the Confucian social order, without prostitutes, and all without the help of God—I wonder if they would still marvel.

The Painter Lady: Grace Carpenter Hudson.

By Searles R. Boynton. (Eureka: Interface Corporation, 1978. 186 pp. \$28.50.)

Reviewed by Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, Art Department Historian, The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California.

Coinciding with evaluations in recent years concerning contributions to American art made by painters in the Far West in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, here is a personalized and detailed in-depth biography, and an illustrated catalog raisonné, of an artist, Grace Carpenter Hudson (1865-1937).

The artist, who was born in Potter Valley near Ukiah, California, was known to the area's Pomo Indians as the "Painter Lady." Portraits of the Pomo Indians—men, women and children who were in a sense the artist's neighbors and friends from her earliest childhood—comprise the main part of her entire works in oils and watercolors.

The author of this book, Dr. Searles R. Boynton, a dentist residing in Ukiah, became interested in Grace Hudson when he happened to see one of her paintings at Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco, seven years ago. Wisely, Dr. Boynton has not interpreted Grace Hudson's art for art's sake; instead, he

has spent years of research locating and documenting approximately 250 of her more than 600 known paintings of Pomo Indian subjects. Because of the extensive reproductions in the book, which include forty color plates and several hundred black and white illustrations, the reader becomes in a sense a "gallery viewer" of a retrospective collection and is given the opportunity to form an independent perspective of Grace Hudson's art.

The necessary biographical information is all there, researched from original sources including the artist's mother's diary, the artist's documentation of her works—which are signed and numbered but not dated—and family letters and documents. The Prologue provides family background and the account of the journey of the Aurelius O. Carpenter family from the Territory of Kansas across the plains and their arrival in California in 1857, eight years before the artist's birth.

Dr. Boynton's biography of Grace Hudson is a labor of love, which gives a full account of her life, her family and friends, and her training. At the California School of Design in San Francisco, she studied landscape painting under Raymond Dabb Yelland, an internationally educated painter and teacher, and portrait painting under Domenico Tojetti, whose long professional career began in Rome in the Vatican Court. Dr. Boynton also describes the artist's two marriages—the second, to John W. N. Hudson, a medical doctor by profession who later became a distinguished American ethnologist, had particular significance on her career. Grace Hudson's ultimate success as an internationally-known woman artist, whose Pomo Indian painting *House Care* won a cash prize at the Paris Exposition in 1900, is also thoroughly documented.

In addition, Dr. Boynton has written into the text a wealth of factual information—also derived from original sources—concerning the Pomo Indians as a people and a vanishing race. In many cases the author has included personalized descriptions of individuals portrayed.

This book has been published at a time when the gift baskets of the Pomo Indians of California—especially those created during the early days of the "Painter Lady's" career—and the portraits of those Indians by that artist are equally prized and rare. The portraits, usually classic and sensitive portrayals of individuals, are sometimes depicted in landscape settings. Frequently, however, and without particular regard to composition, still-life objects of interest to historians, relating to the legends and traditions of the Pomo tribe, are included.



Basque shepherds tended sheep throughout the rugged terrain of the West.

A Shepherd Watches, A Shepherd Sings: Growing Up A Basque Shepherd in California's San Joaquin Valley.

By Louis Irigaray and Theodore Taylor. (New York: Doubleday, 1977. 310 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Ronald B. Taylor, reporter for the Fresno Bee and author of books on the history of agriculture in the Central Valley.

Louis Irigaray, the folk singer, and Theodore Taylor, the writer (no relation to the reviewer), have teamed up to weave a series of anecdotes and events into an interesting, if romantic history of a Basque family. Essentially this is an oral autobiography recorded and set down by Taylor, but in the process Irigaray's unabashed love for all things "Basco" lifts the book and provides some colorful insights.

The Irigaray family is right out of Basque tradition: one son to the church, one son to the village artisanship, and one adventuresome son to America to earn money as a shepherd, one day to return to the Pyrenees Mountains and there become a Paysan, a farmer. Irigaray's father was the adventuresome immigrant from Esterenzuby who came to California to herd sheep, and save his money.

But while the love of the Pyrenees and tradition was strong, the senior Irigaray stayed, bought a band of sheep, and married. By the time son "Lew-wee" was six years old, he was riding on the back of a pack animal, following the family bands of sheep up from the San Joaquin Valley into the high ranges of the Sierra Nevada. Louis Irigaray, who styles himself as a folk singer in the tradition of Burl Ives, is at heart an "artzainak," a shepherd, an entrepreneur who owns bands of sheep and hires sheep herders to work them.

Irigaray knows the sheep and the work, and he tells interesting anecdotes about life on the "sheepwalk" trails, of rescuing a fierce badger that had fallen into an abandoned well, of entering a "band" of sheep in a Hanford Chamber of Commerce parade through the middle of that city. His profile of the Basque herder Baptista, who after twenty-five years finally does return to his village in those mountains that form the border between Spain and France, is touching.

Although in Irigaray's romantic telling of the shepherd's work there is no direct comment on the subject of labor exploitation, there is a sense of this as he describes the incredible hardships and severe working conditions under which the herders—and "Lew-wee" himself—worked. The difference of course was that he was the son of the owner and the others worked for low pay, considering the hours, working conditions and the tremendous responsibilities.

Irigaray reveals his own sense of the Basque pride and independent nature when he writes, "Gora Euzkadi Askatuta, Long Live the free Basque Country!" He further adds, "As a matter of other record, we Eskualdunak, we Basques, have often leaned toward defiance and independence. . . . Both the *Santa Maria* and the *Nina* were largely manned by unruly Basques, and they threatened to throw Christopher Columbus overboard when he was slow in finding land."

The reader of this interesting book will get a sense of the culture within a culture, of the Basque sheep men and their herders living and working in a rural, farming environment peopled by the Portuguese, English, Mexican, Yugoslavs, and others. Yet the Basques remain "Bascos." Irigaray takes the reader to the Basque hotels in Fresno and Bakersfield and gives some sense of the Basque network that extends throughout the western United States, wherever sheep are grazing.

California Check List

By Joan Alpert,
Library Administrative Assistant

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1977-78) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

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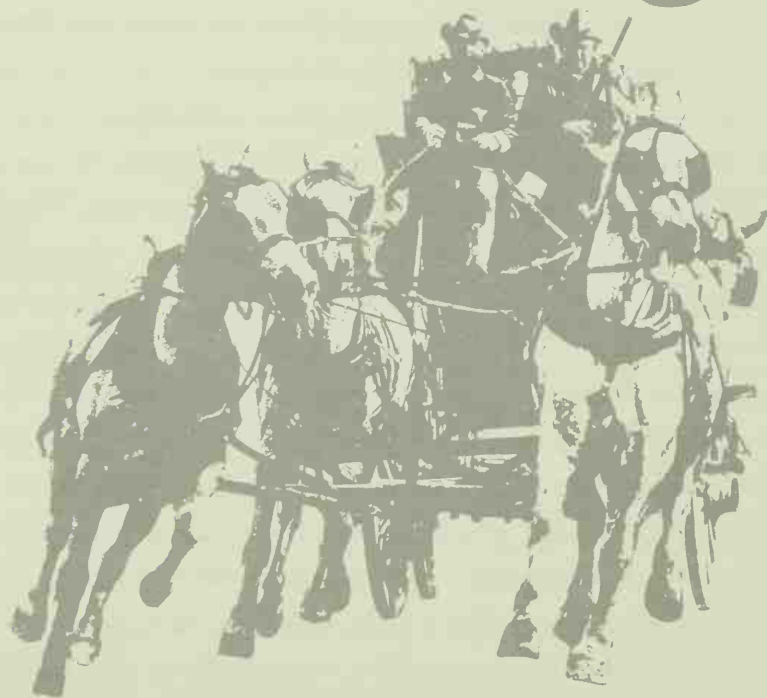


Little did I dream as a lad, in the small Spanish village of Saragossa, that I should one day sit upon the right hand of the Immortals! Now let me tell you how it befell. A century before my birth, 1725,

Miguel de Cervantes wrote his incomparable *Don Quixote*. Not one Spanish author but sought to equal or surpass this book. Not one but failed. As apprentice to a printer in Madrid, I dreamed of one day printing an edition befitting this masterpiece, a setting worthy of the jewel it contained. And just before my death in 1785, I achieved my dream! My Royal Academy edition of *Don Quixote* was acclaimed by the well-known Signore Bodoni of Italy, the illustrious Benjamin Franklin of America, my own most beloved King Carlos III, and by all printers and scholars of consequence throughout Europe, as the finest book but one ever produced in Spain. Its only rival was *The Sallust*, which I myself had printed ten years before! Moreover, it was said that my works so inspired my fellow countrymen and artisans as to cause greater advances in the Typographic Art in twenty years than it had made in the two preceding centuries! The Typographic Art has happily continued to advance through the centuries. Today you are blessed with such stupendous typographic houses as *Mackenzie-Harris Corporation*, located at 460 Bryant Street in San Francisco, California, who possess under their eaves far more type than existed in the entire world of my time. Yet I may point with some measure of pride to the fact that the typographic excellence achieved in my *Sallust* and in my *Don Quixote* has not yet been surpassed in all the world. *Gracias a Dios!*

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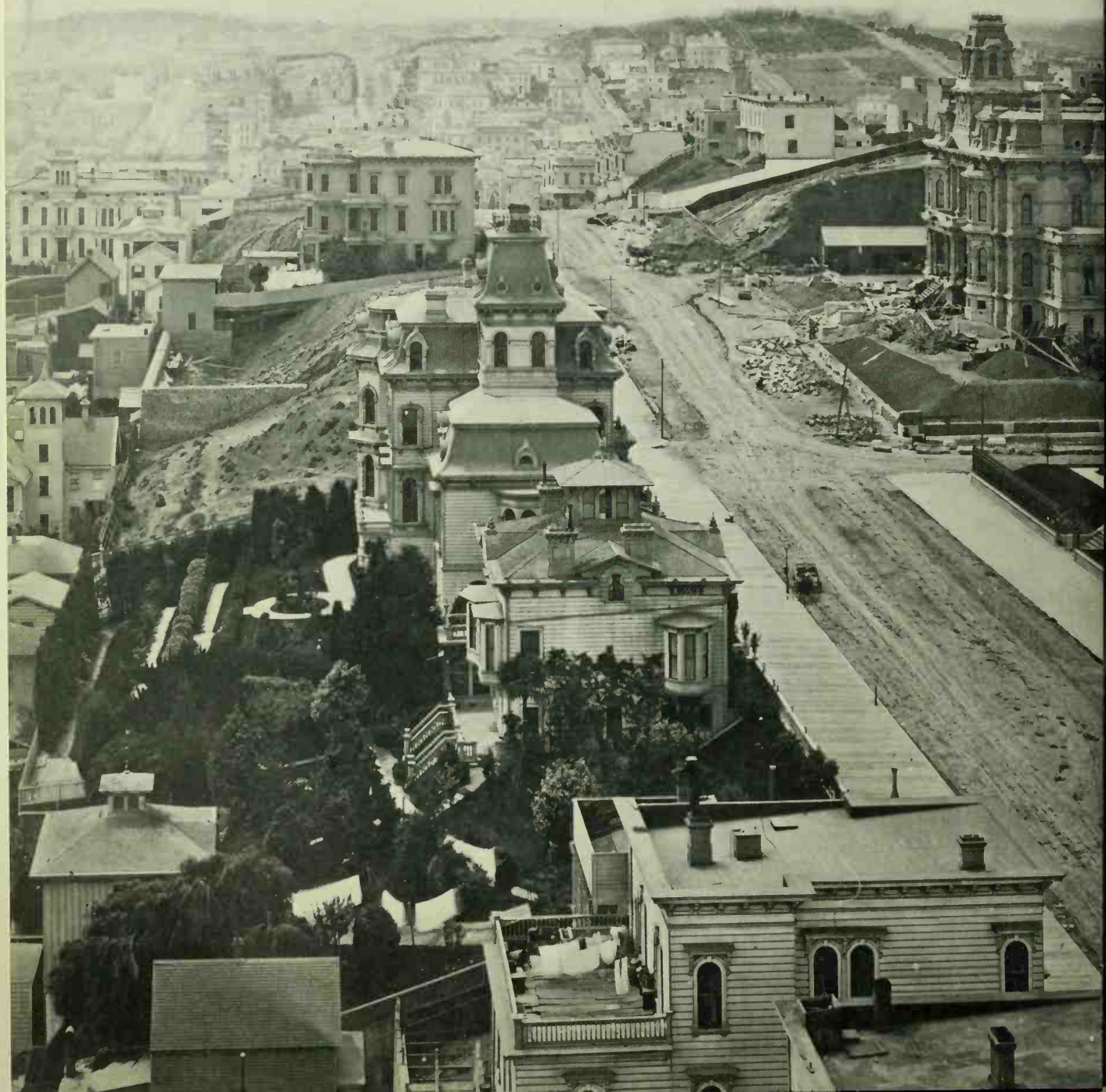
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California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

fall 1978

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Special Issue:

Carleton E. Watkins, Pioneer Photographer

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COVER

Pioneer California photographer Carleton E. Watkins documented the landscape of the American West, mastering the exacting photographic processes and bringing his artistic vision to the infant art. In this special issue of *California History*, articles and photographic essays by Watkins scholars investigate the uniqueness of Watkins' contribution to the historical record and the shadowy career of the man who in 1861 made this unusual self-portrait titled *Under the Upper Falls, Yosemite*. Stereograph no. 72. *California Historical Society Library*.

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El Capitan, 3600 Feet. *In Watkins' developing landscape vision, tree trunks emphasized the picture plane rather than serving as traditional landscape elements.* Baird Collection #44.

CARLETON E. WATKINS

Pioneer Photographer

Carleton Emmons Watkins is known primarily for his western landscape photographs taken in the 1860's and 1870's, particularly his views of the Yosemite Valley. As a photographer he visually elaborated on the widely held nineteenth-century belief that nature embodied God's divine order. His photographs emphasized the harmonious relationships of elements in nature, the awesome grandeur of the mountain valley, and the pristine quality of wilderness untouched by civilization.

Watkins' photographs also provided compelling evidence that the American wilderness was a national treasure, portions of which deserved to be preserved in their natural state. Partly through the sentiment raised by his widely distributed pictures of Yosemite, the valley was declared by Congress in 1864 to be inviolate and under the protection of the state of California, leading the way for the establishment of the country's national park system.

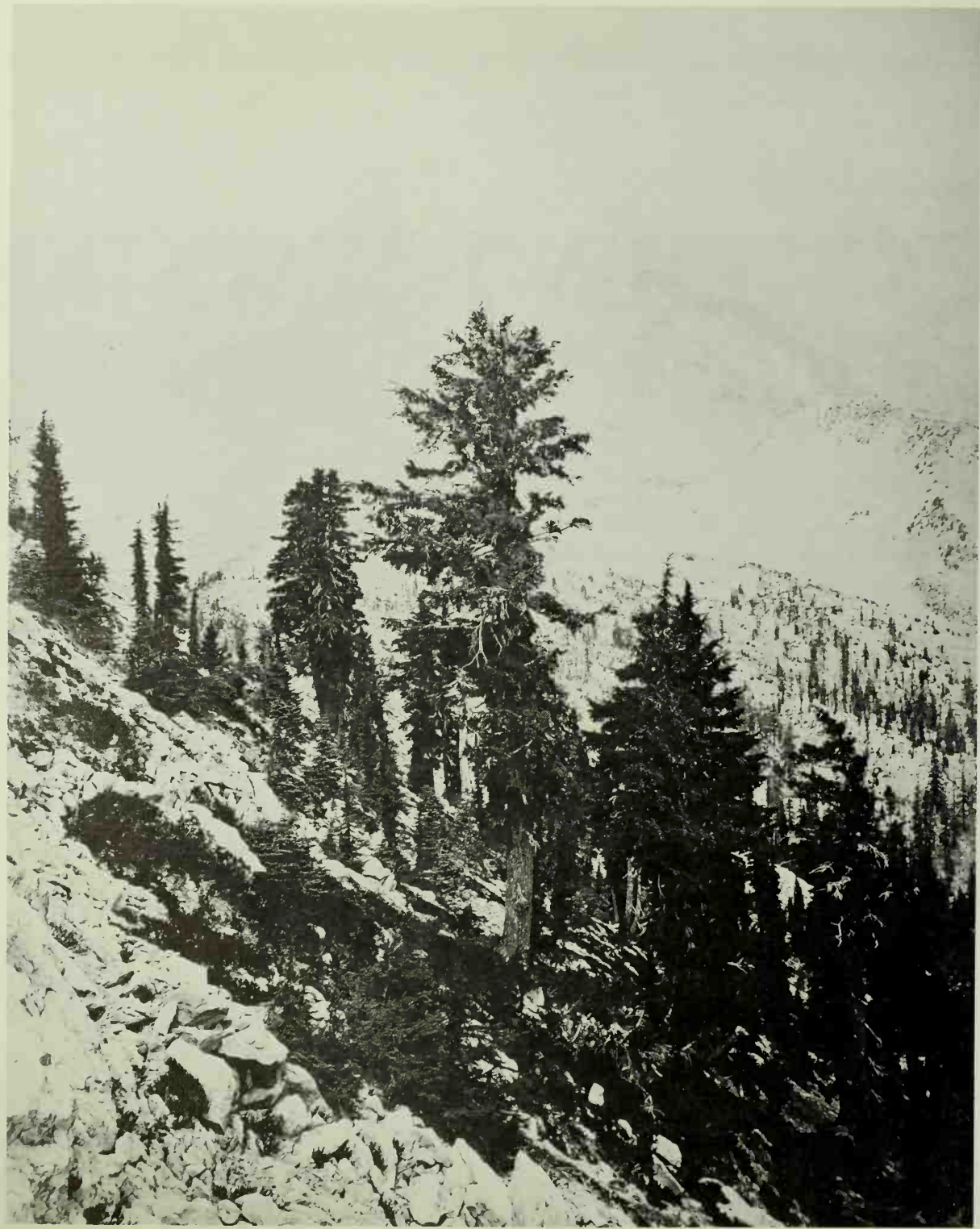
Watkins also participated in the exploration and further documentation of the western wilderness areas by accompanying the United States Geological Survey teams which charted the terrain of Northern California. In 1864 he traveled with J. D. Whitney, Clarence King, James T. Gardner, and William Brewer in Yosemite. Engravings made from Watkins' photographs illustrated the preliminary survey report of 1865, and Watkins included the map prepared by King and Gardner in his own view albums. Watkins made another series of Yosemite views for Whitney's final report of 1868 titled *The Yosemite Book*, and in 1870 Watkins again worked for King on a survey trip into the Mount Shasta-Mount Lassen area. On his own in 1867, Watkins set out to

take the first extensive series of photographs of the Columbia River region of Oregon.

In addition to photographing California and the West as seen by its first white settlers, Watkins photographed the new California: the rapidly growing cities, the mines and miners, the shipping activities, the railroads. He also provided images of the new elite and the homes and gathering places which mirrored their aristocratic pretensions. To all of these non-landscape views which were sold to proud owners, tourists, and new settlers, Watkins applied his best art and best technology.

Often, quite ordinary subjects gained in stature by Watkins' formal compositional approach toward photography. Emphasizing the relationships of abstract elements, he excluded unimportant details in carrying out his abiding sense of balance, order, and harmony. The consistency of his style both in his pure landscapes and in his more commercial views reflected in part the dual outlook of his day that honored equally technological progress and untamed nature. Watkins' pictures also tended to be formal because of the length of time required by the steps of wet-plate photography, by the need to present his commissioned views in the best light, and by his inherent predilection for creating a world of order and dignity within his picture frame. His sense of history and his sense of artistry strongly complemented each other, and today his pictures remain as beautiful and historic records of the past.

The California Historical Society Library holds some 800 photographs from various periods of Watkins' career. It is hoped that the focus on Watkins in this issue of *California History* will encourage greater awareness of this pioneer's work as a visual source of knowledge about California's past.





Camp Bed on Lassen's Butte, Siskiyou County (no. 1567). Crude lean-tos like this sometimes sheltered Watkins and other members of Clarence King's Fortieth Parallel Survey Party.

Williamsonii—Mt. Shasta. Watkins made this unusual view of the great peak in 1870 (left).

Malakoff Diggins, North Bloomfield Gravel Mines, Nevada County. Watkins' 1871 mammoth-plate views of mining received rave reviews for their "lifelike representation of hydraulic mining . . . on paper."



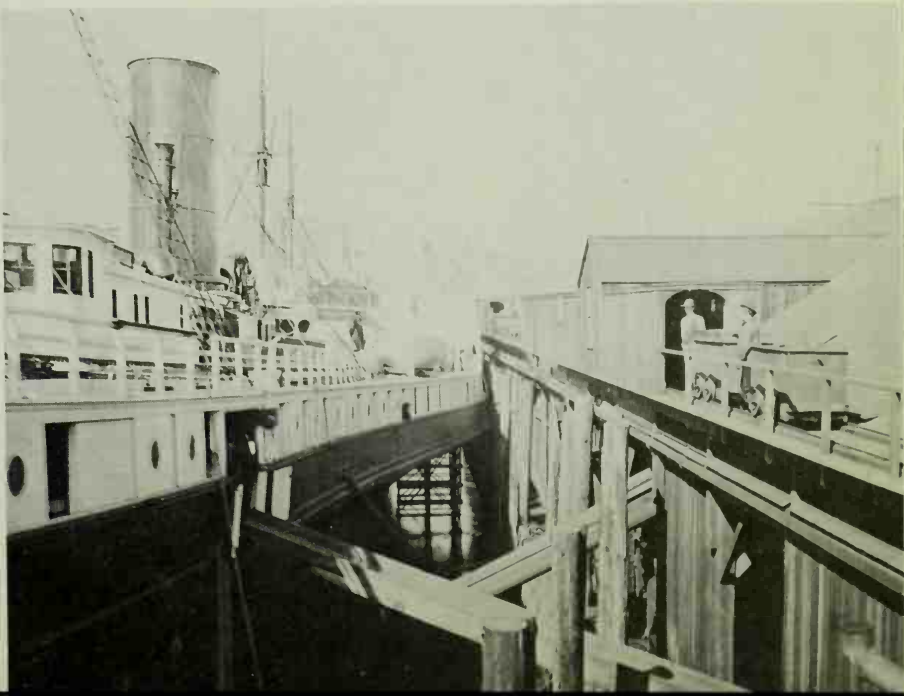
Multnomah Falls, Cascades, Columbia
River. *This mammoth-plate view
(approximately 18" x 22") was made in
1867 when Watkins toured distant
Oregon and Washington.*



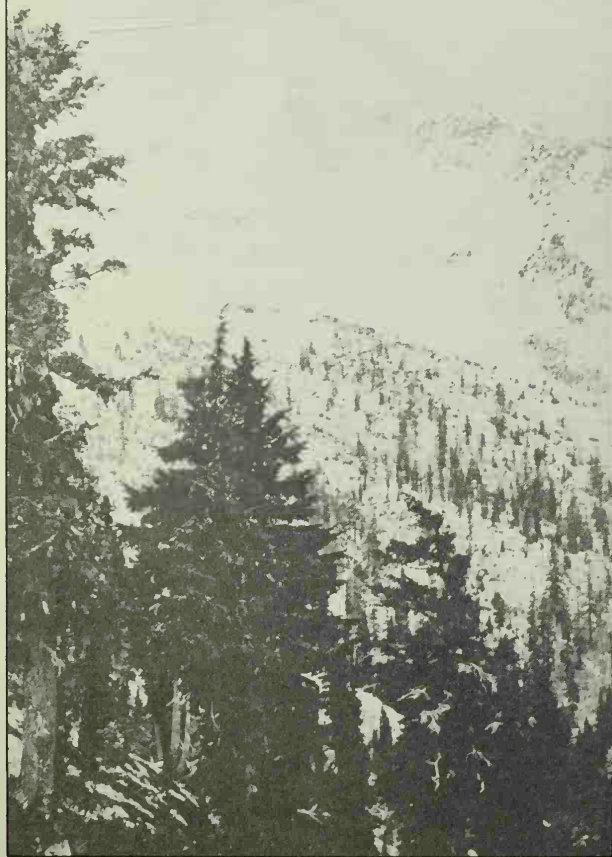


Library at Thurlow Lodge. *Watkins' photograph of the library at the Menlo Park mansion of Senator Milton and Mollie Latham was proof to all of the owners' education, good taste, and patronage of the arts.*

San Francisco Wharf, 1872. *Watkins' mammoth-plate view of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharves is a remarkable study in intersecting diagonals.*



Watkins and the Historical Record



During the past few years of active interest in photographic history, the leading nineteenth-century photographers of the American West have gained unparalleled appreciation. Pictures by William Henry Jackson, Timothy O'Sullivan, Eadweard Muybridge, Andrew J. Russell, and others have climbed steadily in price at international sales, while new exhibitions and books regularly celebrate the photographers' works. No photographer among the group, however, has more dramatically come to the fore of contemporary recognition after decades of relative neglect than has the California pioneer, Carleton Watkins (1829-1916).

Despite a half-century career of single-handed picture-making ranging over the entire West, Watkins has been generally understood only as a competent and prolific photographer of scenery—one who might be taken seriously if more were known about his life. Hardly anyone bothered to answer the challenge of research about Watkins in the decades after his death in 1916 in the Napa State Hospital for the Insane, and very little of substance has been done even in the last years of renewed interest in photography. Two years after Watkins' death and burial in an unmarked grave, Watkins' friend Charles Turrill drew upon his notes of the old man's shaky recollections to publish an article which is of necessity regarded as the primary source on Watkins, despite its flaws and inaccuracies.¹ This remained the only work on Watkins until 1960, when a University of California professor of hydraulic engineering, J. W. Johnson, issued a notable monograph on Watkins.² Originally produced as a source guide to early illustrations on watershed materials, this carefully researched paper became a landmark document in modern photographic history with a reputation that considerably outlasted the availability of the actual publication. (Fortunately, a facsimile

Richard Rudisill is Curator of Photographic History at the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. His book, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society* (1971), is a basic text of photographic history.

reprint may now be secured from the Photographic Archives of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.)

The only new, widely published writing of substance on Watkins has appeared as part of a major exhibition catalogue written by Weston Naef and James Wood, *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975). This unfortunate work, however, while a landmark for its recognition of the artistic and historic importance of the pictures of Watkins and other great westerners, is so ill-executed in matters of chronology, judgment, and information as to beg replacement by responsible scholarship.

It is with the desire to supplement the past and to initiate correct gathering of basic information about Watkins that this present collection of articles has been written. Only after efforts such as this to establish dates, to collect bodies of work large and comparative enough to define style, and to begin a true *catalogue raisonné* for Watkins will genuine understanding of his accomplishments be achieved. Pauline Grenbeaux and Nanette Sexton offer articles illuminating Watkins' unknown early work and the chronological and technical patterns of the Yosemite period. With Peter Palmquist's revelations about Watkins as a publisher, these essays make possible a fresh look at Watkins' entire career and provide welcome new information for the record. It is to be hoped that further work will explore in particular Watkins' later years, during which he carried his camera into the regions of the Columbia River, the Nevada silver mines, Southern California and Western Arizona, and along the railroad lines into Utah.

The scope of the present articles has been limited to the first half of Watkins' career for reasons of space and logic. After the financial reverses sustained by Watkins in the mid-1870's (as noted in Peter Palmquist's essay), the photographer's progression was not as it had been. Many of his major negatives passed into the control of I. W. Taber, and a bitter but wiser and more exper-



Leland Stanford, Jr. In 1872 the four-year-old scion was brought to Watkins at his 22-26 Montgomery Street studio for this albumin cabinet portrait.



Camp in Warner's Valley, Lassen's Butte, Siskiyou County (no. 1569).
Watkins accompanied King's survey party to photograph their findings.



Merchants' Exchange, San Francisco
(no. 939). Routine photographs of
commercial buildings supplied bread-
and-butter money to photographers like
Watkins who made this stereograph
in the 1870's.

iened Watkins was forced to remake his previous images as best he could for a changed market. Soon thereafter, he adapted his technique to accommodate the new system of the dry-plate negative, and his work was naturally altered as much as his outlook. A few samples of his work from this period between 1875 and the loss of his vision in the 1890's appear in the concluding photo essay in hopes of encouraging examination of this neglected mature work and its relevance to his full career.

The study of Carleton Watkins could well serve as a model for historical research because so much of his work is still at hand. Although most of his negatives and earliest daguerreotypes perished in the 1906 disaster and although his biographical details are shadowed, it is nevertheless possible to search out as yet unfound information about Watkins in newspapers and periodicals, to make comparisons between bodies of pictures, and to reconstruct chronological and numerical systems. We are, in short, able to focus on this man whose photographic consciousness was completely formed in the Far West and make him a working example of how solid photographic historical research methods can uncover a photographer's work and assess its significance for history. Simultaneously we can appreciate to the full the quality of his work as photographic art.

Once sufficient examination has been made of the details of Watkins' career and the stylistic progressions in his work, we may be able to extrapolate to the more general aspects of how the techniques and materials of his early career affected the images he produced. In an age of lightweight cameras and easy enlargements, for example, it is necessary to understand that in Watkins' day making a large picture meant making on the spot, by hand, an equally large glass negative. The glass had to be coated with light-sensitive chemicals, exposed, and processed before it dried or lost its ability to accept an image. When complete, the negative was exposed to sunlight until its image appeared on paper coated with sensitive chemicals in a layer of egg white. The entire

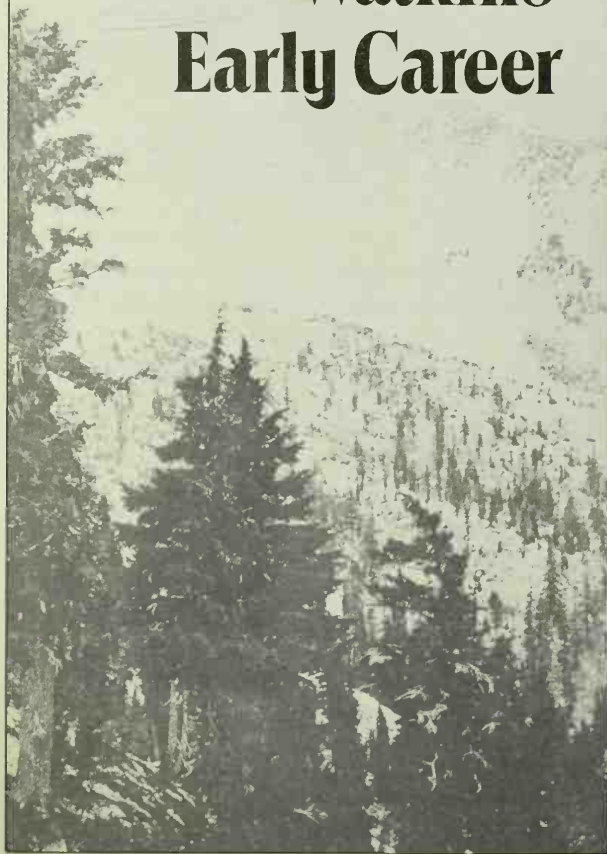
procedure was slow and laborious, and it required considerable thought and care to produce richly toned, subtle images of great detail and beauty as seen in Watkins' prints. Familiarity with the processes used by Watkins should make it possible to avoid some of the recent confusion that, for example, would have us believe that Watkins was particularly concerned with achieving a painterly aerial perspective when he was merely accepting the technical realities of his materials. Likewise, his negatives' hypersensitivity to blue skies and his prints' tendency to bleach out in light areas should not confuse modern writers. Research must be subject to checks and verifications and must be considered, as are the following articles, work of exploration in progress.

Exploration in progress has come to be a regular concern for Pauline Grenbeaux, guest editor for this special Watkins inquiry. She completed a Master's thesis on Watkins at the University of California at Davis and has continued her research for the past five years. We are fortunate that her knowledge and enthusiasm have been available to us throughout the development of this collection of work, and we are grateful that she could take up the labor of organizing and guiding our efforts, moving from writer to editor when the need arose.

After the initial planning for this series of essays, the authors were saddened by the untimely death of Terry Wm. Mangan, our original editor and the California Historical Society's Curator of Photographs, a fact made yet more unhappy by the ending of a career filled with solid accomplishments despite its brevity. Terry's energy, imagination, and sense of quality of work encouraged us in these present efforts at the outset and have remained with us to their completion. It seems to us proper that the Watkins essays should carry our respectful dedication to his memory.

The photographs of Multnomah Falls, Stanford, Jr., and the library are courtesy Stanford University Museum of Art. The others are from the CHS Library.

Before Yosemite Art Gallery: Watkins' Early Career



Carleton Watkins first became famous for landscape photography in the 1860's. By 1863, he achieved national attention when Oliver Wendell Holmes praised the photographer's Yosemite views in the *Atlantic Monthly*³ and when the prestigious Goupil's Art Gallery in New York exhibited them in their windows. In 1867, Watkins advertised his Yosemite Art Gallery in San Francisco; in 1868, he was recognized in Europe for having won the only medal for landscape photographs at the Paris Exposition; and by 1872, he was prosperous enough to move to large, more luxurious quarters in San Francisco.

Watkins' accomplishments are often cited as evidence that his most famous early work—the 1861 Yosemite views—was enormously successful. However, the dates of his known successes and the gaps in documentation between them seem to indicate that Watkins' critical and financial triumphs did not occur immediately upon his return from his photographing expedition to Yosemite in 1861 as has been previously assumed. Further, the degree of Watkins' artistic and technical ability—accomplishments which eventually won him warranted praise and support—makes it clear that Watkins must have had a more active photographic life prior to 1861 than has been previously documented. This essay examines Watkins' career prior to the advent of his famed Yosemite Art Gallery in 1867.

Watkins moved to California from Oneonta, New York, where he had been born on November 11, 1829, the youngest of five children in the family of Scottish hotelkeepers.⁴ A frequent guest at the Watkins hotel was Collis P. Huntington,⁵ who was establishing himself in the hardware business in Oneonta. Considerable attention has been given the acquaintance of the two men by Watkins enthusiasts because of the fame Huntington later achieved. Watkins' daughter Julia believed that

Pauline Grenbeaux is an art and photograph historian interested in the cultural life of early California and a researcher of photographic documents for the California Railroad Museum. She is currently working on a series of essays on railroad patronage of photography.

In Camp, Yosemite. Artists Tom Hill
and Virgil Williams traveled with
Watkins in Yosemite to study and advise
the government on how to
preserve the valley.



her father and Huntington traveled west together when they were both twenty-one years of age, and her claim has been repeated since she was interviewed by Ralph Anderson in 1949. Biographies of Huntington, however, contradict her.⁶ Huntington left for California in 1849 with six other Oncontans, but the passenger list for their ship, *The Humboldt*, does not include Watkins' name. Watkins' daughter believed that when her father arrived in San Francisco, a major fire forced him to stay in San Jose. Huntington had returned to New York for his wife and arrived again in San Francisco on May 5, 1851, only two days after the great fire of May 3 which razed the entire business district of the city. However, the passenger list for Huntington's ship again does not include Watkins' name. A passenger list for the *Michaelangelo* arriving from New York on August 2, 1852, does include a C. Watkins.⁷ Whatever his travel arrangements, by 1853 Watkins had joined his fellow Oncontans who had settled in Sacramento. He is listed in the 1853 city directory as a carpenter dwelling at G. W. Murray's. George W. Murray, a successful bookseller and stationer in Sacramento, had been the bookkeeper for the S. & C. P. Huntington Co. in Onconta.

It does seem that Huntington's powerful position with the Central Pacific Railroad had some influence on Watkins' career in the 1870's and after. Charles Turrill, Watkins' principal biographer, said that the two men had contact on many occasions. Watkins, for example, made photographs for the railroad—often without charge—and Huntington provided Watkins with a free pass which carried him and his huge load of equipment anywhere on the railroad lines. Turrill even tells an anecdote about Huntington protecting this relationship by closing an in-house photographic department started by the company in his absence. When Watkins was nearing retirement age, Huntington arranged for a small ranch west of Sacramento to be given by the railroad to Watkins for his loyalty and unpaid labor.⁸ Julia Watkins claimed the two men were "chummy friends" and that

she had occasion to meet both Mr. and Mrs. Huntington when she was a girl.⁹ It is significant that Watkins named his only son Collis, a gesture that indicates respect if not fondness for his old neighbor.

In spite of evidence indicating professional and personal ties after Watkins' had become famous in his own right, there is little evidence to show any influence by Huntington on Watkins' initial efforts in photography or his early career. On the contrary, Alfred Hart—not Watkins—was appointed the official Central Pacific Railroad photographer during its construction even though Watkins had much experience in outdoor photography. Turrill noted that Watkins was not involved with the railroad in any way until after Hart's tenure ended in 1869.¹⁰

When George Murray & Company moved to San Francisco, Watkins moved with it. He is listed as a clerk in Murray's store on the Montgomery Block in the 1854 city directory. Watkins told Turrill he watched the construction of the Montgomery Block and that he especially remembered the "forest of pilings." Since the construction took place between July and December, 1853, Watkins and Murray must have moved to the city by the end of the summer of 1853. Turrill said it was during this period that Watkins met Robert Vance, a daguerreotypist who owned a large gallery in San Francisco. But it is more likely that Watkins met Vance earlier in Sacramento where Vance also had a gallery. This acquaintance was to have a more profound influence on his future than those with Huntington or Murphy.¹¹

Watkins, who knew nothing about the highly complex photographic processes, agreed to tend temporarily Vance's San Jose gallery after the regular operator suddenly quit. Vance instructed Watkins to bluff his way through the picture-taking until a replacement could be found. Watkins somehow secured adequate images, and he remained on the job.¹²

Watkins must have learned from Vance both da-



New Idrea Quicksilver Mine, Inyo County, 1857. *This blurred image is one of nine photocopy enlargements (39" x 58") in the Hearst Mining Collection which is attributed to the young Watkins.*

Indian Sweat House—Mendocino County. *Interested in California's peoples, Watkins made this mammoth-plate photograph sometime between 1861 and 1864.*



Babies! Babies! Watkins' advertisement in the San Jose Tribune first appeared on March 5, 1856, and ran through the summer months.

guerreotypy, which was still the standard method of photography in the 1850's, and ambrotypy, which Vance promoted for portraits in his San Francisco studio. Most of Watkins' work for Vance would have been portrait photography, and Watkins' biographer Turrill tells us that Watkins' "experience in lighting, posing, etc., gained in the gallery in San Jose led to his doing a vast amount of portrait work."¹³ Watkins also gained his first exposure to outdoor photography with Vance.

Vance, a pioneer in outdoor photography, had produced one of the earliest extensive series of outdoor daguerreotypes by the time he associated with Watkins. In 1851, he exhibited in New York 300 whole-plate views of the terrain, mines, and cities of California. Vance continued to work outdoors throughout the 1850's, and he must have discussed the special requirements of outdoor photography with his assistant. Watkins, of course, was personally familiar with Vance's work, and he copied some of Vance's landscape daguerreotypes at the gallery. Watkins kept a collection of daguerreotypes from this period which were destroyed in the fire of 1906.¹⁴

Photograph historians Weston Naef and James Wood have recently claimed in *Era of Exploration* that Vance only indirectly influenced Watkins' development, merely making available to the novice Watkins in 1859 stereographs taken by European and East Coast counterparts.¹⁵ However, when Watkins' early landscape photographs are compared (as is often done) to those of another early Yosemite photographer, Eadweard Muybridge, it is clear that Watkins received and remained true to his western training. Muybridge, who studied photography in England in the early 1860's and retained an affinity with English pictorialism, used cloud effects and dynamic viewpoints to evoke dramatic feelings in his photographs. Watkins, on the other hand, did not interject his presence between the subject and the viewer, except on rare occasions. Rather, Watkins sought straightforward viewpoints and classical compositions

AMBROTYPES!

NEW ARRANGEMENT AT
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DAGUERREAN GALLERY,
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Babies !! Babies !!

Bring on your Babies!

THE LITTLE TIME REQUIRED to take the AMBROTYPE, enables MR. WATKINS to warrant THE MOST PERFECT SUCCESS with the little folks. San Jose, March 5th, 1856. m5-1m

to mirror the essential harmony and stability he saw in his subjects. Basic to this approach are the principles urged by his mentor, Vance, who said of his own work: "These are no exaggerated and high-colored sketches, got up to produce effect, but are as every daguerreotype must be, the stereotyped impression of the real thing itself."¹⁶

In connection with Vance's gallery, with another gallery, or perhaps independently, Watkins experimented with outdoor photography before he left the San Jose area. Biographer and friend Turrill was familiar with two early daguerreotypes of Mission Santa Clara which he believed were taken by Watkins during these years. In 1856 or 1857, Turrill wrote, Watkins photographed both the New Almaden quicksilver mine and the New Idrea mine, and with this group of photographs Watkins began his career as a viewman rather than a portrait-taker. These were the first, according to Turrill, of Watkins' paper-printed photographs as opposed to the one-of-a-kind daguerreotypes or ambrotypes.

At Mrs. Frémont's, Black Point, San Francisco,
1861. John C. Frémont purchased the Black
Point cottage overlooking San Francisco Bay for his
wife Jessie while he was working on the Mariposa Estate.

Multiple printings on paper from a single negative offered the possibility of a speculative investment of time and effort to secure a negative plate of a subject with more general appeal than a portrait. Accordingly, Turrill noted that Watkins' views of New Almaden were taken at a time when there was much publicity over conflicting legal claims to the property and that Watkins "received quite an incentive in his photographic career from the sale of the pictures."¹⁷

Just how long Watkins remained under Vance's tutelage is unclear; Turrill says only "a short period."¹⁸ In 1856, Watkins advertised that he was taking ambrotypes at Ford's Daguerrean Gallery in San Jose, presumably as the gallery manager.¹⁹ Ford, like Vance, had galleries in San Francisco or nearby towns in the 1850's. In fact, Ford was Vance's competitor in Sacramento in 1853, and it is probable that Watkins met Ford there, too.

Watkins' arrangement with Ford apparently lasted until December, 1856, when James Clayton advertised that he was taking over "the rooms lately occupied by Mr. Watkins over the 'Bella Union,' and known as Ford's Daguerrean Gallery."²⁰ Four years later, in 1860, Clayton ran another ad which hints at a possible ongoing freelance relationship with Watkins after Clayton took over the gallery.

The undersigned received all the Premiums for both Ambrotypes and photographs, at the last County Fair; it being the second time against all competition . . . I had an artist to work for me last summer, who did the paper work on exhibition at the late Fair; he has worked for me at different times for the last four years. I still employ him when there is work sufficient to pay me.²¹

Watkins was certainly one of the few skilled photographers making paper-printed photographs in the Bay Area at that early date.

Turrill records that Watkins returned to San Francisco in late 1857 or early 1858,²² but the San Francisco directories for the years 1858-1860 do not list him as a resident. (Unfortunately, there were no San Jose directories



until 1870.) Watkins is listed in the 1861 directory as a "daguerrean operator" at 425 Montgomery. The term "operator" suggests that he was not the owner of the business, but a freelance or salaried employee. He was again listed at this address in the 1865-1869 directories under "photographic galleries," a term which implies that he had his own business by then. In 1867, he was advertising his Yosemite Art Gallery at the Montgomery address.

Watkins' professional address between 1861 and 1865 is less certain. His stereographs before 1867 carried no printed address or gallery name, only a handwritten title and signature. A title page dated 1863 which he used for bound collections of prints gave his address only as "San Francisco, Cal." Turrill said Watkins' studio was at the southeast corner of Clay and Kearney streets when he set out for Yosemite in 1861.²³ Watkins' address is given in 1863 as 649 Clay Street, with no indication whether this was a home or business address. Only his home address (on Calhoun) was listed in 1862, and he



The Metal Pickers, New Almaden.
In the early 1860's Watkins visited the
quicksilver mines south of San Francisco,
incidentally providing one of the
earliest photographic records of child
labor in America.

was not listed at all in 1864. Since Watkins sold many landscape photographs prior to 1865 when he was located at 425 Montgomery, he must have had facilities in which to display and sell them, as well as facilities in which to print them. He might have prepared them at the Clay Street address and sold them through galleries and dealers.

The earliest extant group of photographs by Watkins are the 1859 views of mining activities in the foothills of Mariposa County just west of Yosemite. The next earliest are the Yosemite views of 1861 taken with his mammoth-plate camera and stereoscopic camera. Although both series of photographs required outdoor shooting trips in the same general area of California, the nature of the photographs are very different. The Mariposa collection was a commercial job whose success rested on the adequacy of Watkins' depiction of subjects chosen by his exacting client; the Yosemite series required an investment of Watkins' time and money, and its success lay in the artistic presentation of subjects chosen by Watkins and the willingness of the public to pay a moderate price to own one of these selected views.

Watkins' decision to go into Yosemite—a difficult trip for anyone in those days—was both an artistic and a commercial one.

The Yosemite Valley had only recently come to public attention when Watkins made his images. The first extensive report on the West Coast of Yosemite's unusual characteristics was the account of James Hutchings, a member of the first party of sightseers to enter the valley, which appeared in *Hutchings California Magazine* on October 9, 1859. The first reports read widely on the East Coast were Horace Greeley's account of his trip in the *New York Tribune* in 1859 and Thomas Starr King's serialized record of his excursion in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, which ran from December, 1860, through February, 1861.

After these introductions to the valley's natural wonders, the public understandably wanted pictures. Photographer Charles Weed had accompanied Hutchings in 1859 and secured twenty whole-plate views and forty stereographs from which Hutchings' engravers illustrated the articles in *Hutchings California Magazine*.²¹ However, Weed's photographs were poor in technical and artistic quality and were poorly promoted, and they thus achieved a very limited distribution and reputation.

Watkins' views, which were technically and artistically superior to Weed's and which included more subjects, should have been immediately popular. Yet all available evidence indicates that they were not widely distributed until 1863, two years after they were made. Oliver Wendell Holmes indicated in his 1863 review of Watkins' stereographs that he was not familiar with the work before then.²⁵ Surely a man who followed photographic developments and curiosities as closely as Holmes would have been aware of the photographs had they been widely available earlier. Writer Fitz Hugh Ludlow wrote in the *Atlantic Monthly* in his travel account of his 1863 trip to Yosemite that Watkins' photographs were first seen in New York only months before his trip.²⁶ To date, no reference to the Yosemite views dated

prior to 1863 has been found by this writer. It is significant, too, that Lawrence & Houseworth, a fiercely competitive San Francisco photography firm, did not send a photographer to Yosemite to make its own photographs until 1864—three years after Watkins' trip. Because the Yosemite Valley was accessible only in the warm months, this 1864 date would have been the first opportunity after Watkins' public acclaim of 1863 for the firm to enter the competition for sales of Yosemite views.

Commercial success did not come to Watkins for several more years—probably not until we find him advertising his Yosemite Art Gallery in 1867. His pocket diary of 1864 (now at the Bancroft Library) reveals limited sales and subject matter: in addition to the Yosemite views, he was selling only a few Mariposa views, a series of views of the Mendocino Coast, another of the New Idrea mines, and some miscellaneous views of San Francisco and the Bay Area. Conspicuously absent from this list are the tourist views like Seal Rock and Alcatraz which were the mainstay of the large photographic publishers like San Francisco's Lawrence & Houseworth. Also absent is any mention of portrait photography, the stock-in-trade of most photographic operations. Watkins' pocket diary further indicates that he made his prints to order, filling requests for single prints and batches of up to thirty-one per customer. Some requests appear to have been mail orders or at least orders to be sent as far away as Paris. Watkins most likely sold them through dealers as well. A receipt preserved at the Bancroft Library dated May 28, 1864, and signed by Watkins names a Mr. Boyd as agent for one set of large Yosemite views.

Additional evidence indicates that Watkins also sold his photographs through other galleries prior to the opening of his Yosemite Gallery in 1867. Several Watkins prints now held by the California State Library are embossed in the lower corner with "Bradley & Rulofson S.F." For example, the photograph *Bridge at Clarks*,

identified as "Bradley & Rulofson No. 102," was taken at the same time as stereograph no. 1157, *Bridge Over the South Fork at Clark's*, which was copyrighted by Watkins in 1867, and it is identical to a print in Watkins' series, *Photographs of Yosemite Valley*, from the years 1872-1875 (now at Stanford University). The California State Library's view is not a photocopy, and Watkins apparently retained the negative plate; therefore, it appears that the Bradley & Rulofson prints were somehow obtained directly from Watkins.

The photography studio of Lawrence & Houseworth also procured photographs from Watkins during this period. One collector of photographs has noted:

A clue that links Houseworth and Watkins can be seen in a series of slides taken at the launching of the gunboat *Comanche*—some of which were copyrighted by L[awrence] & H[ouseworth] in 1864 and others, almost identical, by Watkins in 1867. . . . The two photographers might have been working together, but now I think that Watkins did the work but only sold part of the negatives to L.&H., bringing out the rest in his own name three years later.²⁷

Another connection between Watkins and Lawrence & Houseworth is revealed by the unexplained grouping of Watkins' photographs with those taken by Weed in 1864 and widely marketed by Lawrence & Houseworth. Similarly, the nearly identical size and format of two albums held by the New York Public Library—one with thirty-one signed by Watkins, another with twenty-eight signed by Weed—suggests a common publisher. One researcher has discovered that six of Weed's views in the library's album appeared in other collections attributed to Watkins.²⁸ Although the small numbers (usually one or two Weed prints among many Watkins prints) suggests that some of Weed's photographs found their way into Watkins' collections, it seems unlikely that Watkins bought them from either Weed or Lawrence & Houseworth. Watkins already owned superb photographs of the same views.

Another example of the ties between Watkins and

Lawrence & Houseworth is a collection at Yosemite National Park of unmounted photographs by Watkins, Weed, and Muybridge dating from 1872 and earlier which clearly have a common publisher. Photocopies of some of these views were later published in *The Sun Album* by Houseworth (Lawrence having left the firm in 1867), leading to the conclusion that Houseworth was the publisher of the Yosemite National Park collection. Presumably, Houseworth obtained his views from the photographers themselves, because both Watkins and Muybridge owned the copyrights to their views.

In fact, Watkins copyrighted most of his views in 1867. Although he did authorize sales of his work through others even after 1867 (one series at the University of California at Los Angeles has mounts imprinted with his copyright notice and a handwritten statement that Hardy Gillard was agent for the views), the copyright would have restrained unauthorized sales of his views. Historians Naef and Wood suggest that Houseworth may have exhibited pirated Yosemite views by Watkins at the 1867 Paris Exposition, because the views by Weed, Watkins' only rival for subject matter, were not sufficiently good to win the medals awarded to the firm for landscape views.²⁹ Naef and Wood also suggest that this was the reason Watkins and Muybridge moved to copyright their own work in 1867.

Certainly a more probable reason that Watkins copyrighted his work in 1867, however, is that he seriously entered the retail market that year by establishing his Yosemite Art Gallery. (He also had stereo mounts printed with his name for the first time that year.) Copyrighting his work was a logical antecedent to his financial investment. Probably the most pressing reason for Muybridge to copyright in 1867 was to protect the collection of Yosemite views that he produced that year. Had Houseworth unethically exhibited Watkins' work at the Paris Exposition—if indeed the firm exhibited it at all—it should have raised some comment in the San Francisco press by Watkins' admirers. This author has found

no such comment. This is not to suggest that Watkins would not have liked to win the medal—he competed for it under his own name the next year and won—or that Watkins did not prefer to control the publication and sales of his own work—he opened his own gallery presumably for that very reason. Rather, it suggests that Houseworth may have obtained and sold some of Watkins' photographs through a specific business arrangement.

A more incriminating use of Watkins' photographs without acknowledgment of his authorship may be found in an inexpensive album of photocopies sold in 1866 by D. Appleton & Company of New York, a copy of which is now at the Huntington Library. The photocopies (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "), are identical, flaws and all, to the thirty mammoth-plate views (approximately 18" x 21") in another Huntington Library album which carries a dedication of 1864. If Watkins had produced or sanctioned the album, there would have been no need to use such poor photocopies when, at least by 1866, he had fine, small negative plates of nearly the same views. Unauthorized photocopies, however, were a way for the publisher to avoid the expense of a photographic expedition to Yosemite or the cost of purchasing the original prints.

Few of Watkins' 1861 mammoth-plate photographs remain today nor do they appear in the collections originally sold from the gallery. Instead, there exist nearly identical photographs in the later collections which are retakes of Watkins' 1861 views. The photographer returned to Yosemite in 1864, 1865, and 1866, presumably to expand his range of subjects and views. Some of the mammoth retakes were made concurrently with a series in smaller format produced for the U.S. Geological Survey in 1866. For example, the view showing an unidentified man standing in front of the Grizzly Giant from the 1861 series was retaken in both the mammoth and smaller format with Galen Clark, keeper of the Big Trees, in front of the giant tree.



Montgomery St., from Austin's Building, July 4, 1865. *Watkins' stereo camera was one of the first to capture a Fourth of July celebration.*

Not all the mammoth retakes were in response to the needs of the geological survey, however. Thus, the leaning tree in the 1861 view of the Three Brothers rock formation had fallen over by the time Watkins captured it in the 1866 view. The tree is down in another early undated mammoth view, but the water level shows that it was taken on a different occasion from the 1866 view. Watkins' retakes are from the same vantage point, are identical in composition and effect, and differ only in the changes in flora and water.

A reason for one set of Watkins' retakes is offered by Watkins' historian Nannette Sexton in her essay appearing in this issue. She suggests that a new camera lens acquired by Watkins after 1864 eliminated the need to round the top corners of the matting in order to mask the indistinct or shadowed corners of the image and made possible a wider angle of view. As an artist, Watkins naturally strove to improve his craft, and he responded admirably, as Sexton illustrates, to the new possibilities afforded by technical advances in his medium. But Watkins was also a businessman trying to make a profit from his artistic endeavors. Competition was tough, as Peter Palmquist points out in his essay in this issue, and there were considerations other than artistic ones in completely replacing a very successful series of albeit round-topped views, rather than simply adding different views made with the new equipment to his repertoire. Perhaps he desired uniformity of format and so wanted to eliminate the rounded top corners while keeping the tried-and-true views. Per-

haps he lost exclusive rights to his earlier views and wanted to reestablish his copyright. Perhaps he anticipated competition from Charles Weed, who made a second photographic trip to Yosemite in 1864 backed by the resources of the largest photographic equipment and publishing house in San Francisco, Lawrence & Houseworth. Perhaps Watkins believed that an updated series was necessary to maintain his reputation in San Francisco as the master of his art. The fate of Watkins' original negative plates might indicate other possibilities if their whereabouts were known. Perhaps the plates broke; perhaps Watkins reused the glass. Perhaps he was able to sell the original negatives to another photographer or publisher and sell his own new views of the same titles, thus doubling the commercial mileage from his subject. The second series of Yosemite views, like the first series and all the photographs of his early career, was made in response to a complex of factors which were both artistic—his own conception of beauty and the introduction of new techniques and equipment—and commercial—the expectations of his customers and changing market demands.

It is unfortunate that so many questions about the first thirteen years of Watkins' career—from 1854, when he learned photography, until 1867, when his career became publicly known through his gallery—remain unanswered. During these enormously important years Watkins grew as an artist and technician, linked his name forever with Yosemite, set a precedent for photographic careers based on landscape photography, and established aesthetic and technical standards of excellence for his genre. By filling in the gaps in his life story and by looking more carefully at the entire range of his work, we can more keenly appreciate the motivations and accomplishments of this great pioneer photographer.

New Idrea is courtesy the Bancroft Library; *In Camp*, courtesy National Park Service, Yosemite Collection; *Indian Sweat House*, courtesy Stanford University Museum of Art. The others are from the CHS Library.

The Mariposa Views

According to his biographer, Carleton Watkins photographed the Mariposa Grove in 1858 or 1859, several years before his well-known 1861 series of Yosemite photographs.³⁰ This chronology has been questioned, however, because there are no dated photographs of the Mariposa Grove prior to Watkins' acquisition of a mammoth-plate camera in 1861, and there is no mention of Watkins being at the site in contemporary accounts. Moreover, Watkins' memory of dates was unreliable by the time his biographer, Charles Turrill, knew him. However, Watkins' imperial-sized photographs (about 13½" x 16") of the Mariposa area, images now in the collections of the California Historical Society and the Bancroft Library,³¹ can be shown to be the basis for the line illustrations appearing in an 1859 issue of *Hutchings California Magazine*. These dated renderings confirm that Watkins traveled in the Mariposa area west of Yosemite, if not at the Big Trees grove, in 1859.

More importantly, the Mariposa photographs are now the only body of work known to be produced by Watkins prior to his 1861 series of photographs of Yosemite. In the Mariposa images, therefore, we see Watkins making an important step from novice to master, from the daguerreotypy taught to him by Robert Vance to the newly-introduced wet-plate photography he had mastered by 1861, from a good eye for composition to an inspired perception of beauty.

A comparison of Watkins' photographs with the engravings illustrating "Pen and Pencil Sketches in Bear Val-

ley," an article by A. Schwartz appearing in the July, 1859, issue of *Hutchings Magazine*,³² shows that at least three of the article's six engravings were made from Watkins' photographs. According to one historian, Hutchings routinely brought a cameraman with him on his excursions "whenever possible, that the engraver might work from a perfectly accurate original,"³³ and he took photographer Charles Weed with him to Yosemite in 1859 to secure photographs to be used as the basis for illustrations of that trip. Hutchings traveled with Weed, whose contribution he only barely acknowledged in print, and it is therefore not surprising that Watkins, too, went uncredited for making the photographs on which the Mariposa illustrations were based.

On September 13, 1859, the *Mariposa Gazette* reviewed the Schwartz article. It commented that the Bear Valley article was conceived as one of a series which included those illustrated by Weed and written by Hutchings.

The sketch and drawings are from the pen and pencil of Col. Schwartz, an accomplished civil engineer, draughtsman, &c.; and recently commander of the Artillery of the Nicaraguan army, under Gen. Walker. These sketches of this region, including Yosemite Valley, are to be continued, it is understood. . . .³⁴

Schwartz claimed to have visited the John C. Frémont residence at Mariposa with his party both in March of 1859 and in the summer. The photographs on which he based his illustrations were probably taken during the March trip and engraved for publication in the summer. Although the article in *Hutch-*

ings dealt mainly with another gold vein, Schwartz referred knowledgeably to branches leading through Agua Fria and Mariposa. Both the above-mentioned California Historical Society and Bancroft collections include views of Agua Fria and Mariposa. Schwartz and his party—including Watkins—must have toured those areas on the same trip.

Schwartz's article, like many others in *Hutchings*, is based largely on its illustrations. Representative of many such articles written about the hinterland, it demonstrates the important function of visual imagery to travel articles in Watkins' time. More narrative than documentary, the text leads the reader from one picture to another and describes just where the author is standing and what he is seeing. The writer, in fact, does not speak much of the general scenery but of specific views.

Coming from Coulterville by the trail, we strike a very fine view just before crossing Wyatt's bridge across the Merced River, which gives us a general idea of the situation and relative height of Col. Frémont's quartz works and the surrounding scenery.³⁵

And again:

The well-timbered and nicely shaped hills of the background; the various trails and roads running up the hill sides; and, in the spring time, the whole surrounding country, like a beautiful Brussels carpet, from the variegated hues of the flowering bushes and green sward, constitute a most perfect landscape, particularly when viewed from the opposite hill, from whence our view was taken.³⁶

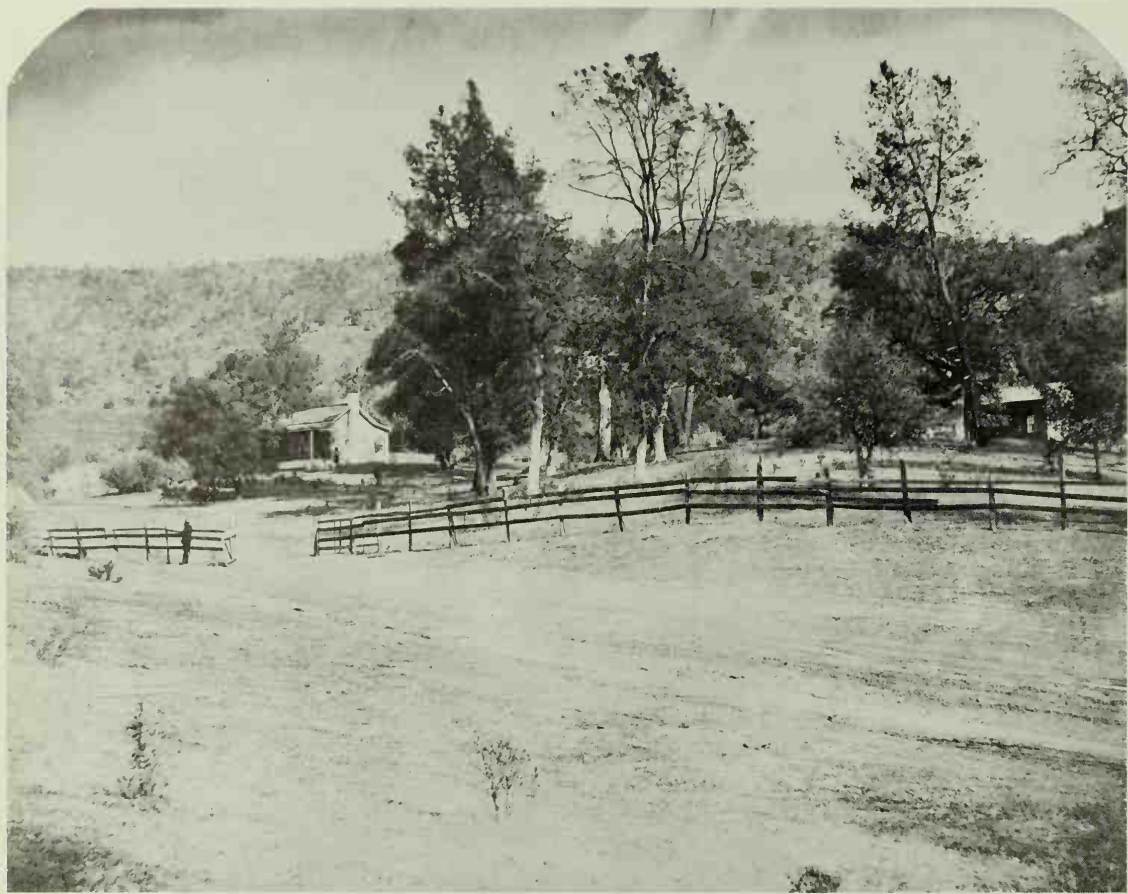
The entire article seems conceived in terms of its photographs.

Watkins' Mariposa photographs

(Continued on page 235)



Watkins' 1858-59 photograph of the Oso Quartz Mill and Mine was the uncredited source for the engraving appearing in Hutchings in 1859. A third engraving, View of the Town of Bear Valley, Mariposa, is taken from the Watkins photograph, Bear Valley from Oso Mine.



*Watkins photographed Frémont's
"modest but lively" Mariposa Estate
residence, and his images served as the basis
for sketches appearing in Hutchings
California Magazine in September, 1859.*





Tower Rock, West View.

Watkins' straightforward portrait of a rocky outcropping exhibits the rounded upper corners which characterize his early photographs.

View from Mt. Josephine N. West.

*An asymmetrical composition
emphasized the ruggedness of the
countryside surrounding the mine.*



Mill on Mariposa Creek. *Three
bystanders willingly froze for Watkins'
roving camera.*



clearly predate his Yosemite photographs both technically and artistically. The Mariposa views' technical quality is significantly inferior to that of the Yosemite photographs, and they are more blurred and have much less range in tone. Their finish lacks gloss and appears more like that found on the salt prints done at this time rather than on the albumin prints made by Watkins in 1861. Even granting that Watkins was less inspired by the commissioned subject matter which was not of his personal choosing, most of the photographs barely hint at the beauty found in his later work. As would be expected of largely descriptive pictures, he selected the views more for the number of necessary features which could be fit into the frame than for the compositional possibilities offered.

Despite these limits, Watkins maintained a good balance of elements within the picture, a characteristic which is even more prominent in his later work. The Mariposa series' *View of Road from Silver Trail N. East*, for example, exhibits a sensitivity to the arcs carved by the roads into the hillsides and an ordering of the composition to bring them out. (The technique fails, however, for the arcs do not stand out clearly as light-against-dark.) In *View from Mt. Josephine N. West*, the mine is set at the far right to show it perched on a hillside and to emphasize the huge expanse of hills beyond. *Tower Rock West View* is a straightforward portrait of a geological outcropping similar to Watkins' later tree portraits. (Again, technical problems severely limit Watkins' success; details disappear in the foreground and

the lack of a wide tonal range detracts from the three-dimensionality of his image.) *Tower Rock Looking North* shows the same rock taken from a different angle in a deliberate attempt to make an interesting composition. A large, light (over-exposed, in fact) space occupies the lower-left quadrant, which is balanced by the sage brush at the right and the rock high across the picture. A man seated unobtrusively in the center adds a sense of scale not easily determined without his presence. It is in works like these Mariposa landscapes that we see the beginning of the artistic vision which was to elevate Watkins' reputation only a few years later.

All the illustrations are from the CHS Library.

The Yosemite Views

A collection of glass stereographs recently made public proves that Carleton Watkins created a broader range of imagery on his first photographic trip to Yosemite than has been previously recognized. The 1861 collection, now at Yosemite National Park, contains seventy-two of the estimated hundred stereographs first published in the series. The very rare glass stereographs are enclosed in a custom-made box³⁷ bearing the label of the original owner: "Prof. Spencer F. Baird, Asst. Sec'y, Smithsonian Institution."³⁸

These photographs substantiate the date offered by Watkins' biographer, Charles Turrill, for Watkins' first Yosemite trip—1861—which few doubted but which was not easily proved.³⁹ Lady Jane Franklin, the sixty-nine-year-old widow of the explorer Sir John Franklin and an ardent traveler, appears in a few of the views, and it is known that she and her niece, Sophia Cracroft, traveled the Pacific Coast in that year in search of exotic scenery rarely viewed by tourists. Her diary and the local paper document her visit to Yosemite in the summer of 1861.⁴⁰

The Baird Collection of Yosemite views is especially important for the study of Watkins' work because the large number of images makes possible the detection of Watkins' style or styles. Many of these stereographs, like the mammoth-plate (18" x 22") views of the same trip, are straightforward illustrative views of the extraordinary features of Yosemite: Half Dome, Bridal Veil Falls, El Capitan, and others. In these images, Watkins sought to define and reveal the peculiar characteristics of each natural

occurrence which made it unique. He produced many centered frontal views which included just enough space and scenery around the edges to define the objects' shape and position. This approach, taken to an extreme in mammoth views like *The Sentinel* and *Cathedral Rock* (Huntington Library), communicates the monumental nature of the subject. Watkins presents the subject frontally without obstruction, excluding secondary landscape features. Framed tightly within the borders of the picture, the rocky features are further defined by the brilliant light which illuminates their faces.

In *Era of Exploration* Weston Naef and James Wood write that

In 1861 he [Watkins] hesitated to prospect for the point of view to perfectly reveal his subject but rather coyly sighted through trees and over rivers and lakes in a manner typical of the picturesque romanticism Watkins would have seen in European stereoscopic views.⁴¹

The large number of straightforward views in both stereoscopic and mammoth formats, however, proves this statement incorrect. Watkins did not hesitate to "prospect" in *Cathedral Rock*, although he did make a number of views such as Naef and Wood describe—*Inverted in the Tide Stand the Gray Rocks* (no. 42), for example. The small number of overtly picturesque views—about ten in the Baird Collection and fewer among extant mammoth views—makes clear that this was only one aspect of the work produced at this time (an aspect absent from his later work) and not evidence of "the elementary

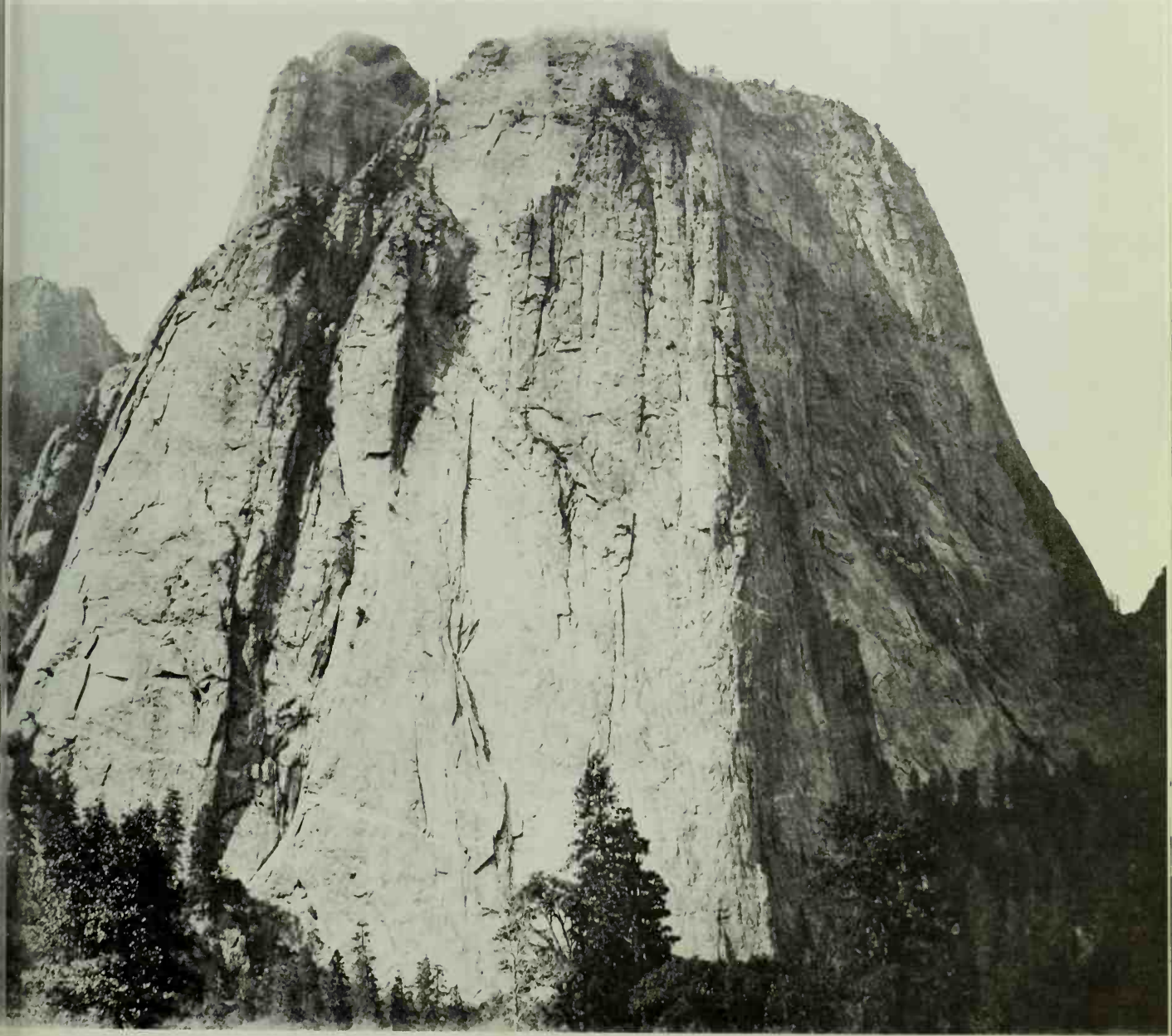
picturesqueness of his 1861 work."⁴²

There are, in fact, just as many views which show that Watkins conceived his pictures in unpicturesque places. Views like *Between the Yosemite Falls* (no. 13 and no. 14) and *The Pool from the Cliff* (no. 81) are compositions of planes and tones of granite and not the most obvious or artfully contrived subjects. The effects of the receding planes and staggered volumes are even more impressive when viewed through the stereoscope.

Watkins' 1861 photographs also reveal a tendency (noted by Naef and Wood about his later work) to create abstract designs composed of about five shapes. Four shapes in *Down the Valley* (no. 62) are stacked on a very high horizon line, while the rectangle of the lower-half balances the others. The tree trunks in *El Capitan 3600 ft* (no. 44) function more as graphic interruptions emphasizing the picture plane than as trees within a landscape.

Watkins' stereographs differ from his mammoth views in that the former's focal points are often high in the picture, sighted over the trees of the valley floor. This seems to result both from the narrower angle of the stereoscopic camera lens and from the photographer's limited access to vantage points which allow a clear view of the subject. The stereographs also evidence more variety of subject than the mammoth views. Some are small scenes of meadows and trees with no reference to the grand geological sites. In one view, Watkins showed just the top of Vernal Falls, concentrating on the rushing arc of water rather than on the well-known features (Continued on page 241)

Cathedral Rock. *Watkins' centered frontal view of the edifice emphasized its monumental presence.*





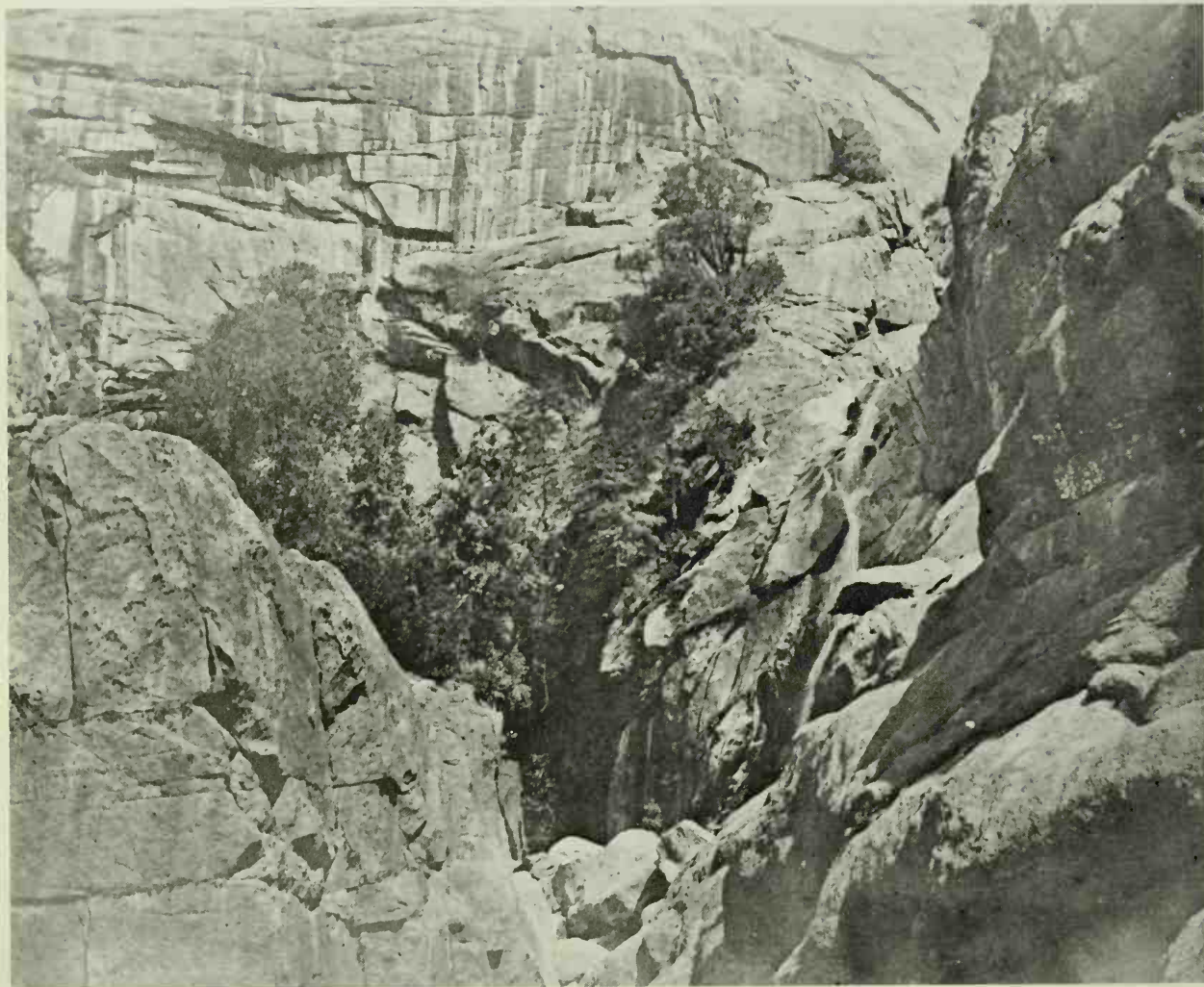
In Camp, Yosemite (no. 3). This glass stereograph showing a comfortable campsite on the Yosemite Valley floor is one of those missing from the Baird Collection at Yosemite.

Lady Franklin and Party. Watkins' presence in Yosemite in 1861 can be proved by his photograph of the Franklin party which toured the West in that year.

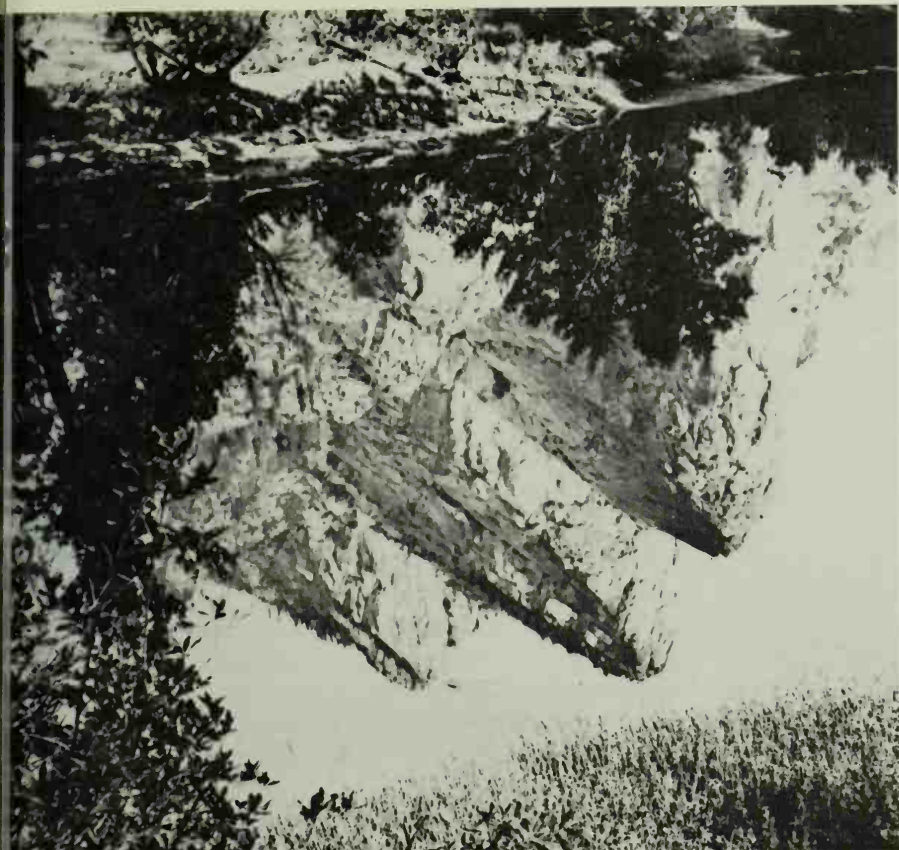




Taken on the same expedition as the glass stereographs, this mammoth photograph of the falls had rounded upper corners to hide the lens flaw. The trees on the left edge remain distorted by the lens.



Between the Yosemite Falls. *A composition of planes and tones of granite with no obvious natural center of interest.* Baird Collection #13.



"Inverted in the Tide Stand the Grey Rocks." One of Watkins' few overtly picturesque views. Baird Collection #42.

which had popularized the site. Perhaps the smaller format stereograph camera was easier to handle, and the smaller—and therefore less expensive and fragile—glass negatives were more conducive to experimentation. It could be, too, that Watkins considered stereographs less important and less formal, their value being more as curiosities than works of art. Certainly, Watkins promoted his mammoth views as his major artistic statement. However, the 1861 stereographs appear to have received the same great care as his larger views, both technically and artistically. Printing them on glass rather than on the cheaper but less effective paper was one way Watkins showed his concern with capturing the luminous sharpness of the images. Nanette Sexton's article points out Watkins' obvious concern with exploiting the compositional possibilities

offered by the stereo format to achieve impressive spacial effects. (Watkins did, however, eventually print some of these on paper.)

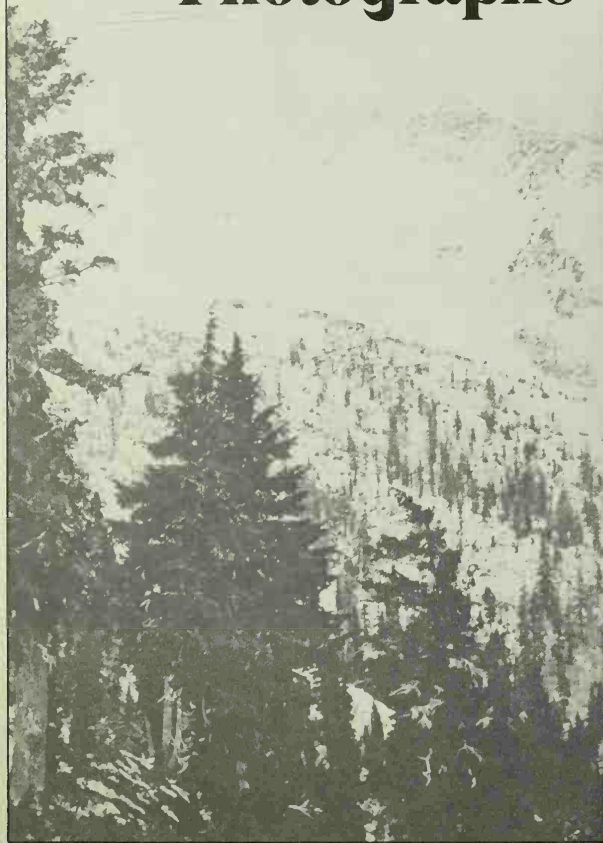
Watkins' work continues to be judged by his mammoth photographs for several reasons: the gallery format of the mammoth views conforms more to notions of fine art objects than do stereos, which are usually classified as popular art; the difficulty of appreciating the three-dimensional effect of stereos without a stereoscope viewer which few researchers bother to take to collection rooms; and the impossibility of adequately illustrating a discussion of the three-dimensional effects of stereos in the two-dimensional format of his historical journals and exhibition catalogues. As a result the whole discussion is simply avoided.

It is interesting to remember that the

photographs Oliver Wendell Holmes describes as "a perfection of art which compares with the finest European work"⁴³ were glass stereographs from the same series as the Baird Collection. In fact, J. D. Whitney, in his 1865 report on the United States Geological Survey's work in Yosemite, found that "the glass stereographs taken in the valley, by Mr. Watkins, are in some respects more effective than the photographs."⁴⁴ After studying the Baird Collection of stereographs both with and without a stereoscope viewer, this writer enthusiastically agrees.

In Camp is from the CHS Library; *Cathedral Rock* is from the Frignet Album, Huntington Library; the others are courtesy the National Park Service, Yosemite Collection.

Watkins' Style and Technique in the Early Photographs



To study Carleton Watkins' early development as a photographer is to study the beginnings of landscape photography in California. Watkins pioneered in the presentation of the scenic wonders of the land of El Dorado to the eyes of the curious world. Although preceded by other photographers, Watkins' continuous photographic exploration of the picturesque and newsworthy areas of California represents the first conscious effort by a photographer to form a consistent personal style of landscape photography. In so doing, Watkins both worked within and expanded the limitations of the photographic medium as it was known and practiced in San Francisco. In addition, Watkins' early work is significant both in terms of his transition from an early daguerrean operator to a master of the wet-plate process and in the development of his own personal aesthetic.

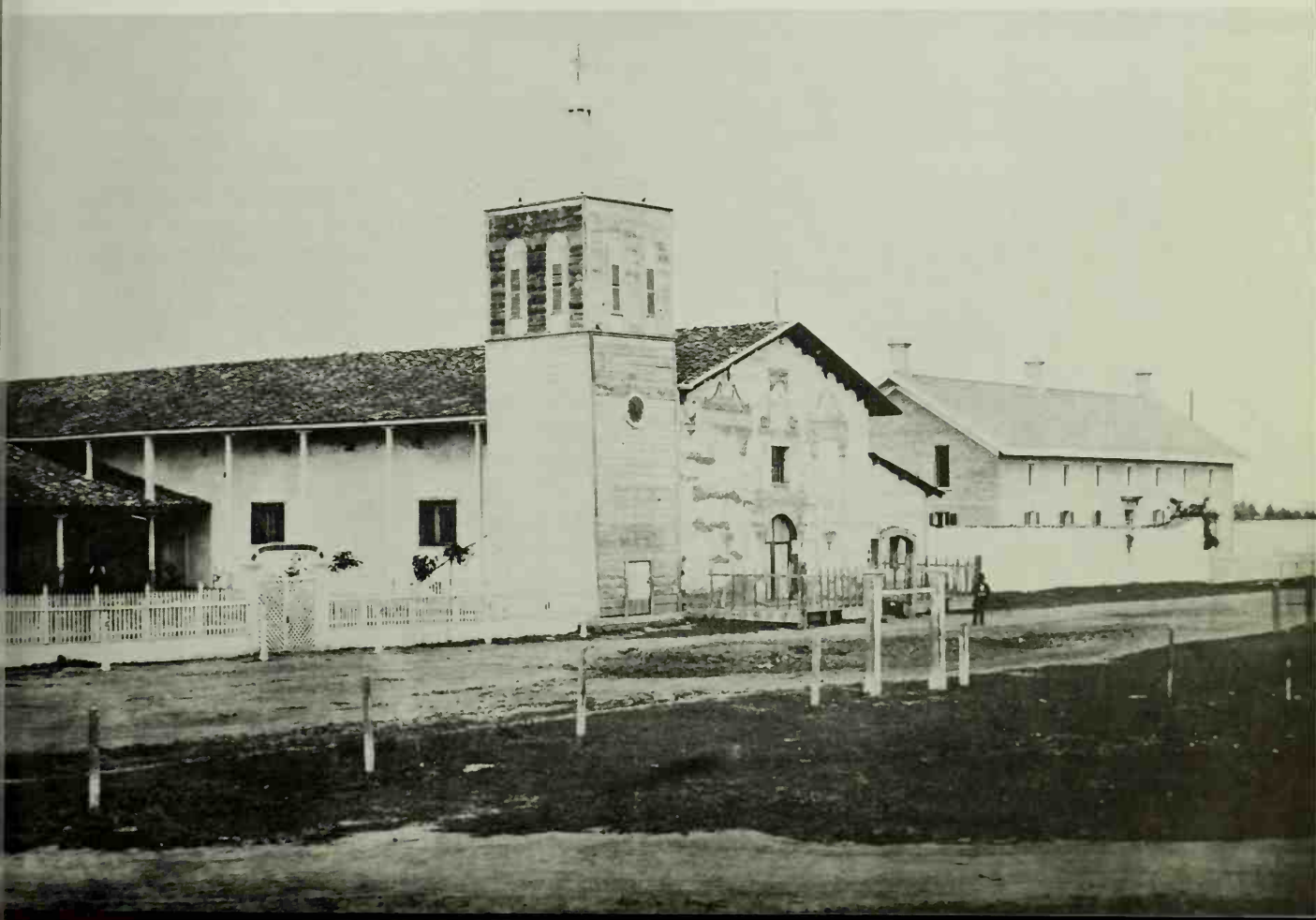
Watkins began his remarkable photographic career as a daguerrean operator in the San Jose gallery of Robert Vance. The daguerreotypes which Watkins made while employed by Vance have yet to be distinguished among all those which bear the stamp of Vance's gallery.⁴⁵ However, later in his career Watkins published in his "New Series" two paper copies of early daguerreotypes which were probably prints from his own early work: one shows Mission Santa Clara near San Jose and the other Mission San Francisco de Asis.⁴⁶ The daguerreotype original of Mission Santa Clara can be dated by its architectural features to 1855-1857,⁴⁷ coinciding with Watkins' employment in San Jose. Comparison of this view of the mission to his 1880 "New Series" mission photographs suggests that on the basis of stylistic similarities the copied daguerreotype can be attributed to Watkins. The early daguerreotype shows that the rudiments of Watkins' later landscape style were present as early as 1855. The requirements for a successful da-

Nanette Sexton is a photographer and art historian interested in the arts of the nineteenth century. She is currently completing her doctoral dissertation on Watkins for Harvard University, where she has taught the history of photography.

This anonymous daguerreotype of Mission Santa Clara (right) is one of two mentioned in the mission archives as being purchased for \$40 about August, 1854. Although sometimes assigned to Watkins and sometimes to Vance, the early date eliminates Watkins, and Vance was only one of several Bay Area daguerrean artists who could have made the view.



The photocopy (below) of an early daguerreotype of Mission Santa Clara was published by Watkins in the 1880's. Its original is probably one of the two daguerreotypes Turrill believed to be Watkins' early work. The original dates after 1855, when the clock was added to the bell tower; and probably before 1857, when the mission acquired its own daguerrean apparatus.





Flaws in the plate and in the printing of this early salt print are evident in Watkins' 1859 view of Benton Mills, named after Frémont's father-in-law, Thomas Hart Benton. To date, the Mariposa photographs are the earliest examples of Watkins' use of the wet plate.

guerreotype—sensitivity to light, texture, and tonal contrast, plus a balanced and clear composition—are all found in what presently is the earliest example of his work.

A comparison of Watkins' daguerreotype and an even earlier anonymous daguerreotype of Mission Santa Clara dated 1852–1854 illustrates Watkins' natural talent for composing a photograph. In the early view, the operator stood just far enough away from the building to include the tip of the bell tower—no further. From this vantage point he included in the foreground just the tops of three fence posts. These three wooden stakes read as undecipherable graphic interruptions in the foreground plane of the picture. Two men, one standing and one seated, occupy the right middle ground of the composition, and the bell tower and church stand in the right half of the background. To the left is a low building and wooden cross. In order to squeeze the entire bell tower into the picture frame, the operator tilted his camera upward, causing a slight distortion in the perspective which makes the bell tower and church appear to lean to the right. In the operator's efforts to record the three main features—the bell tower, the fresco decoration of the church façade, and the two men—he sacrificed the clarity and accuracy of his composition. He also

failed to place the buildings and figures within the context of the surrounding environment and to create a visually interesting composition.

Watkins' daguerreotype, taken no more than three years later, offers a more coherent view of the mission, although his concerns were seemingly similar to those of the earlier photographer. Photographing the buildings with a figure posed in front, Watkins' view encompasses the bell tower, the church, and both flanking buildings. Unlike his predecessor, he placed his camera far enough away from his subject to include the road and the fence in the foreground. The contrasting light and dark tones of the foreground leading up to the now legible fence function as visual stepping stones into the view. Within this setting of contrasting tones, shapes, and textures, Watkins placed the bell tower in the center. To enhance the cubic sense of the tower, he placed his camera on a diagonal line with its corner to show two of the tower's four sides equally. Watkins also illustrated the hall-like longitudinal line of the church, as well as the relationship of the outbuildings to the main church. The lines of the building and the foreground set up a lively rhythm of intersecting diagonals. The flat, textureless tone of the sky is broken up by the central bell tower, the church cross, and the chimneys of the rectory.

Although a new artist in a new discipline, Watkins instinctively realized the potential of his medium. He exploited the daguerreotype's capacity to capture a wide tonal range and to reproduce minute detail and texture. His composition reveals the nature of the architectural elements, their relationship to each other, and the environment. In doing so he created a lively composition full of information and visual incident.

The date when Watkins converted from the daguerreotype process to the wet-collodion process is unclear. A series of views of the Mariposa estate of Colonel John C. Frémont may be the earliest example of Watkins' use of the wet plate, a development which enabled the production of multiple rather than single images. The views were printed on salt paper,⁴⁸ and the paper's dull, monochromatic surface results in a lack of textural and tonal contrast in the images. Details and highlights are lost, rendering indistinct the features of the landscape and mining architecture. Many of the defects in these rare prints are often attributed to Watkins' lack of expertise, and indeed the prints are light-streaked and smudged with many imperfections and breaks in the emulsion surface. However, to the careful eye the prints also give good indication of the style that would typify Watkins' mature landscape work.

The Mariposa photographs measure (on the average) 13" x 16"—almost twice the size of the standard whole-plate daguerreotype which Watkins used to make his Mission Santa Clara view. The increased plate size and the rigors of the commission must have presented a challenge to the young photographer.

Watkins' Mariposa views themselves illustrate the photographer's probable *modus operandi*. In the middle-ground of the view, *Carson East*, for example, stands a buckboard and a photographer's traveling darkroom, a black tent. Seated nearby is a man dressed in a dark suit wearing a top hat. This unidentified man is not dressed in work clothes, indicating that Watkins must have labored without an assistant. This man probably drove

Watkins from site to site, indicating to the photographer the subjects he wanted photographed. At each spot, Watkins set up his camera and dark tent to prepare the negative plate. The wet-collodion process demanded the utmost skill in manipulating chemicals.⁴⁹ The presence of emulsion cracks, smudges, light streaks, and dust particles demonstrates that Watkins had not yet mastered this technically difficult process.

Watkins frequently took several views at each site, including a panoramic view of the entire area and several closer shots of specific buildings.⁵⁰ At Benton Mills he made at least three images: a panoramic view showing the mill and surrounding area, a view of the front façade of the mill, and a view of the back. In the latter Watkins positioned his camera on a nearby hill to get a modified birdseye view. Watkins' choice of viewpoint gives a clear panorama of the mill buildings, eliminating potentially distracting foreground elements. His viewpoint brings out the geometrically interesting interaction between the rectangular platform, the highlighted parallelogram of the mill roof, and the triangular pediment of the adjacent shed. Watkins also captured the subtle integration of the buildings within the landscape to dramatic advantage. The slope of the background hillside echoes the sloping roof lines of the buildings. The brightly sunlit mill roof contrasts sharply with the shadowed hill behind. Finally, the sloping lines of the hill interact with the white sky to create an interesting graphic composition into which the viewer's eye is led by the receding diagonal lines of the planked platform.

The sources for Watkins' style in these early Mariposa views are apparent. His earlier daguerreotype experiences sensitized him to the importance of viewpoint, textural and tonal contrasts, and three-dimensional clues. Tempered by the difficult limitations of the wet plate, Watkins' impulse was to translate the Mariposa landscape into the picturesque-topographical mode of landscape views frequently found in popular illustrated magazines such as *Harpers Weekly*, *Leslies* and *Hutchings*

California Magazine. Yet, in all his views of Mariposa, a strong sense of balance and harmony pervades. Although many of the mining building scenes presented little visual challenge, those views which integrated the architectural forms into the landscape demanded ingenuity and an eye sensitive to form.

Watkins' glass stereo and mammoth-plate views of Yosemite dated 1861 represent a great leap forward for the artist technically and stylistically. The nature of the photographic experience Watkins accumulated between 1859 and 1861 is uncertain, but surely it must have been vast. Technically, Watkins graduated from the standard imperial-size plate of the Mariposa views to the mammoth plate, apparently his own invention. Watkins' biographer Charles Turrill states that Watkins had a special camera capable of producing 17" x 21" views made especially for his first trip to Yosemite. The kind of lens he adapted to this large format is unknown. Examination of the mammoth-plate views produced on this trip, however, suggest that he used Thomas Grubb's aplanatic landscape lens which was patented in England in 1857 but rarely used until the early 1860's.

The Grubb lens, known as the Grubb-C, was a great boon to landscape photographers. By reversing the sequence of crown and flint glasses, Grubb decreased the amount of spherical aberration—a drawback of the earlier Chevalier lens—and increased the lens' angle of vision to about 70 degrees.⁵¹ This great increase enabled photographers to shoot large subjects at closer range, eliminating the enforced inclusion of vast foreground areas in the image.⁵² The major drawback of the lens was that it produced a curvature of straight lines at the edge of the composition.

Watkins' early mammoth-plate views indicate that he used a wider angle lens than he had for his previous images.⁵³ The inward curving forms of flanking trees and the frayed focus at the edges display the characteristics associated with the Grubb lens. In spite of the lens' defects, however, the increased flexibility in angle of

view afforded Watkins more latitude to portray the gigantic rock formations of Yosemite Valley.

All thirty mammoth-plate views which Watkins published after his first trip to Yosemite have rounded upper corners. Almost all show deterioration of image quality at the long vertical edges. Perhaps to mask this deterioration, Watkins included flanking trees along the edges of his images whenever possible. The trees also masked another limitation of his photographic process: the collodion emulsion's inability to capture detail in the sky.⁵⁴ Flanking trees defined the top edges of pictures, which would otherwise have been only a creamy-white void. An untrimmed rectangular version of Watkins' 1861 view, *Cathedral Spires* (at the California State Library), shows the deterioration and discoloration which Watkins sought to hide by either masking or rounding off the top edges of the print. Although Watkins' biographer states that the photographer only tested his new mammoth camera the day before he set out for his first trip to Yosemite,⁵⁵ Watkins' awareness and sophistication in dealing with the limitations of his new camera and the wet-collodion emulsion indicates that he must have had prior experience working with his equipment.

At the same time Watkins worked with the mammoth-plate camera, he produced a stunning series of approximately 100 stereographs of Yosemite. His compositional concerns for composing an effective stereograph were apparently very different from those for a mammoth view, the single most important concern for stereos being the creation of deep space. To do this Watkins was careful to define a strong foreground in his views. The sighting of rocks through trees was an optical device.⁵⁶ When viewed through a stereopticon, the effectiveness of foreground trees becomes apparent. The trees form a frame of reference which provides the viewer's first visual step into deep space and establishes an immediate reference point from which the middleground and the distant background can be measured. Without this fore-

ground frame of reference, stereos lose this sense of progression into space. In 1859, at the outset of the stereo craze in America, Oliver Wendell Holmes observed:

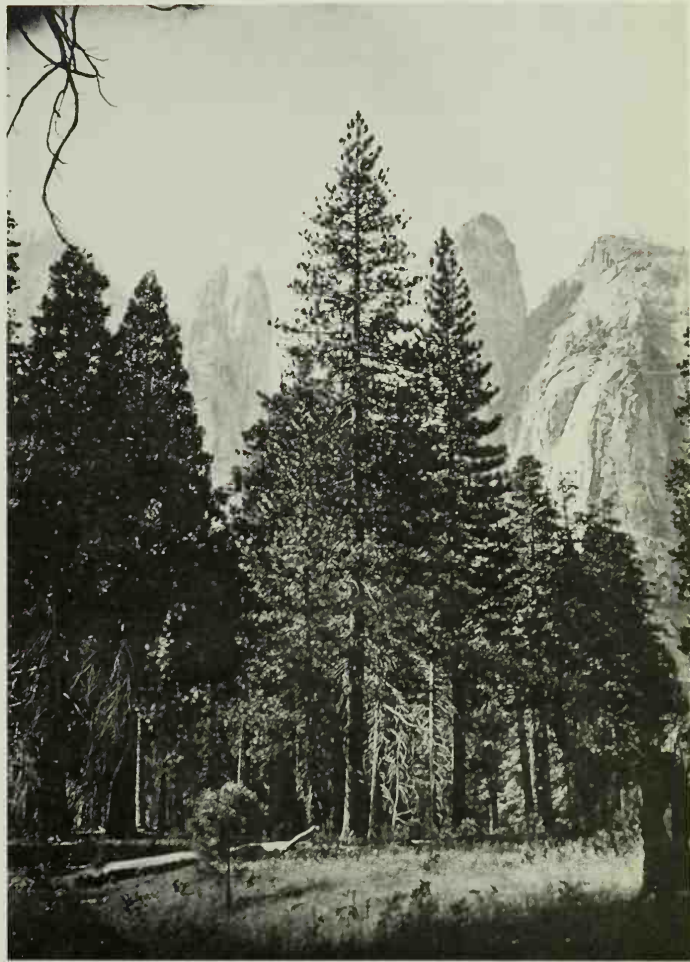
The first effect of looking at a good photograph through the stereoscope is a surprise no painting ever produced. The mind feels its way into the very depths of the picture. The scraggy branches of a tree in the foreground run out at us as if they would scratch our eyes out.⁵⁷

Three years later, upon seeing Watkins' 1861 Yosemite stereos, Holmes was moved to praise Watkins' work in particular as:

"... vigorous in the foreground, delicately distinct in the distance, in a perfection of art which compares with the finest European work."⁵⁸

Not all of Watkins' early stereos exhibit this attention to foreground detail. Frequently, in an effort to portray the particular qualities of one of Yosemite's fantastic rock formations, Watkins would eliminate all distracting landscape elements to focus directly on the rock face. Four views of Bridal Veil Falls show his progression from a view of the falls framed by trees to a spare frontal view of the falls alone. The views are numbered consecutively from the most distant view of stereo no. 23 to the close-up view of stereo no. 26,⁵⁹ with each successive view giving less sense of space. The fifth view, stereo no. 27, retreats from the stark, flat close-up presentation to a distant shot which includes a meadow in the foreground and trees in the middleground, through which the falls is sighted.

Watkins chose a vantage point similar (though slightly to the right and further back) to that of stereo no. 24 for his mammoth-plate view of Bridal Veil Falls. The shape of the rock formation is completely articulated due to the wider angle of the mammoth-plate camera lens. Watkins created the sense of deep space by including a foreground tree on the left, as he did in the stereo. However, the same deterioration at the edges of the picture and the inward tilt of the trees seen in *Cathedral Spires*

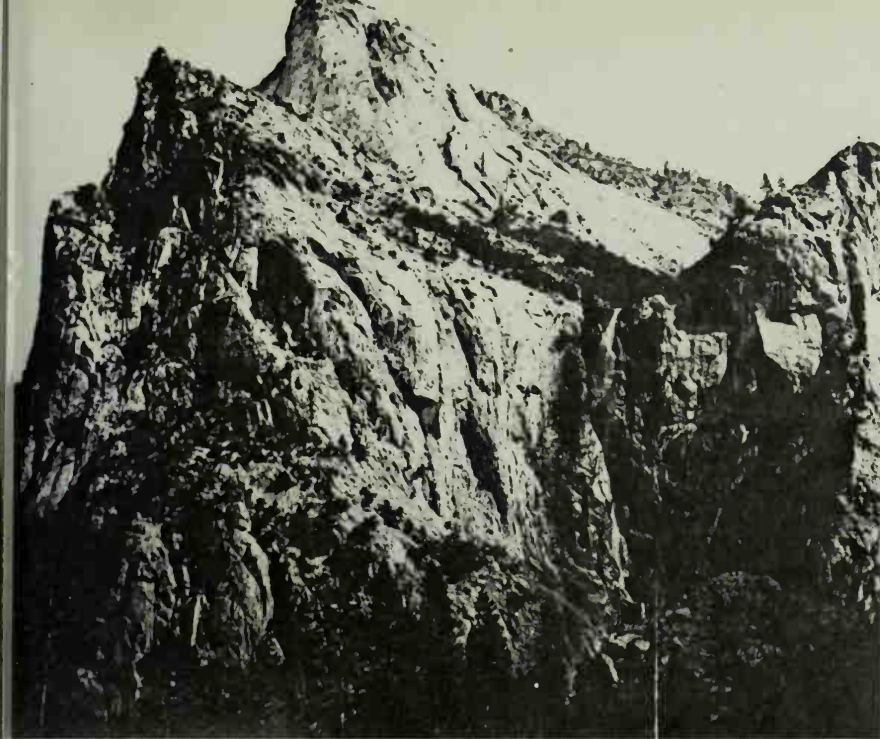


Cathedral Spires. Darkened corners and edges mark this rare uncut, unmatted 1861 mammoth-plate view of Yosemite rocks. The inferior lens quality which Watkins usually masked is evidenced at the left corner and lower edges of the print.



Bridal Veil Falls, 1861. *Watkins' glass stereographs nos. 23 (left), 24 (below) and 25 (upper right) progress from a distant to a close-up view, as if the photographer searched for the best perspective.* Baird Collection.





BELOW:

The Bridal Veil from Coulterville Trail.
*The new Globe lens used for this 1864-65
view permitted a wider angle of vision and
did not flaw the image's corners nor distort
its edges.*



Pohono, the Bridal Veil, Distant View, Yosemite. Taken with the improved Globe lens in 1866, this view became Watkins' most popular photograph of the falls. It displayed Watkins' mastery of the wet-plate medium, his artistic refinement, and his final selection of the best point of view to portray his subject.



are present. Because this view is the only mammoth view of the Bridal Veil which Watkins took in 1861, it must be considered to represent what he judged to be the most successful point of view.

Later, either in 1864 or 1865, Watkins rephotographed the Bridal Veil in the rare mammoth view entitled *The Bridal Veil from Coulterville Trail*.⁶⁰ Watkins must have taken this view prior to April, 1866, when it was mentioned in the *Philadelphia Photographer*, a leading photographic journal of the day. Although his vantage point was identical to that of his 1861 stereo no. 25, the wider angle lens includes more of the rock formation and the surrounding landscape. In a short statement in the same article, Watkins mentioned that he used a Globe lens to make the image. This new landscape lens patented in 1861 was revolutionary in that it provided a vastly wider angle of view and cast a larger circle of light onto the sensitized negative plate. Consequently, round upper corners were no longer required to mask the deterioration of the focus and strength of light, and the trees were straight and detailed even at the sides.⁶¹

Even though his second mammoth-plate version of the Bridal Veil overcame the earlier distortion and defects of the 1861 view, Watkins was still not satisfied. Later, probably in 1867 when he was asked by Josiah Dwight Whitney, Geologist for the State of California, to photograph views for his publication, *The Yosemite Book*, Watkins produced yet another view of the Bridal Veil. This view, titled *Pohono, The Bridal Veil, Distant View, Yosemite*, became by far the most popular with the public. Watkins included it in all his large presentation albums of Yosemite, and it is the most prevalent view found in photographic collections today. This third version represents a synthesis between the two styles present in his early 1861 stereo views—the falls seen through framing trees and landscape or the falls in a straight, frontal, close-up version. Watkins accomplished both the presentation of the geological formation and the depiction of the surrounding landscape to produce one view

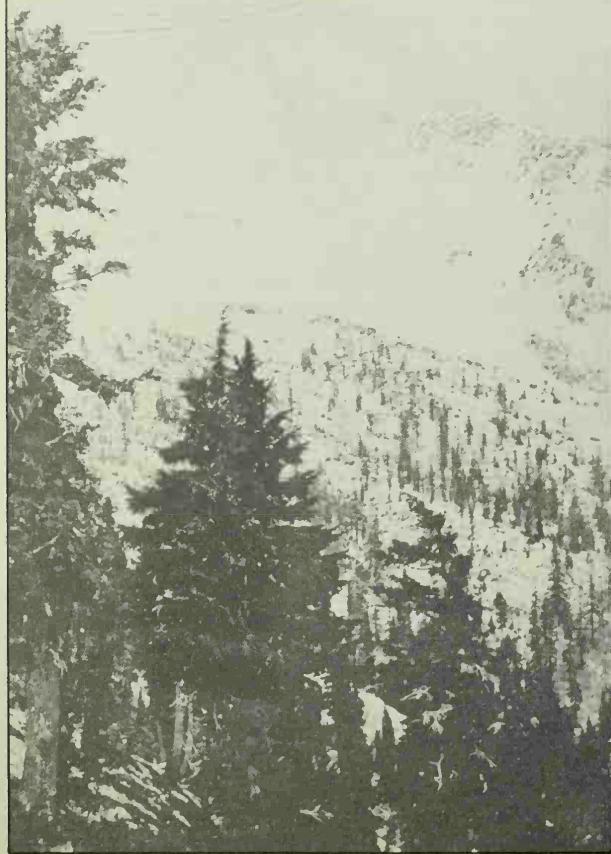
full of the grace and charm of this delicately named natural wonder.

A closer view of the falls, almost identical to the smaller version (6¼"x8") made for Whitney's book, is the vertical mammoth plate, *Pohono, the Bridal Veil*. In this view, Watkins produced a clear, straightforward picture of the falls, yet he avoided the starkness of the earlier close-up photographs. The wide angle of the Globe lens⁶² made possible a close, ground-level vantage point, whereas the lens used in the earlier views required an elevated, distant vantage point. In this view the falls are seen from across the meadow and through the surrounding brush without distortion. The image's marked sense of space and progression offers an improvement to the flat and claustrophobic earlier versions.

By 1867 Watkins had photographed Yosemite Valley at least four times. His strong impressions of its geological wonders and his ability to capture these impressions with his improved technical equipment linked his reputation closely with the region. Capitalizing on this recognition, Watkins opened his Yosemite Art Gallery, and his gallery was considered a "must" for all visitors to San Francisco. By so naming his gallery, Watkins acknowledged his debt to his earliest training ground. It was the challenge of photographing the Yosemite Valley which disciplined his process—both technical and artistic—into a personal style which would characterize his work for his entire photographic career. His style confirmed, Watkins continued for the next two decades to produce stunning images of Yosemite and the scenic wonders of the West.

The early photo of Mission Santa Clara is courtesy the Archives, University of Santa Clara; the 1855-57 photo, courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino. *Cathedral Spires* is courtesy the California State Library, Sacramento. *Bridal Veil from Coulterville Trail* is from the Western American Collection, Yale University; *Pohono* is from Gray's Herbarion Library, Harvard University. The other photos of the falls are from the National Park Service, Yosemite Collection.

Watkins - The Photographer as Publisher



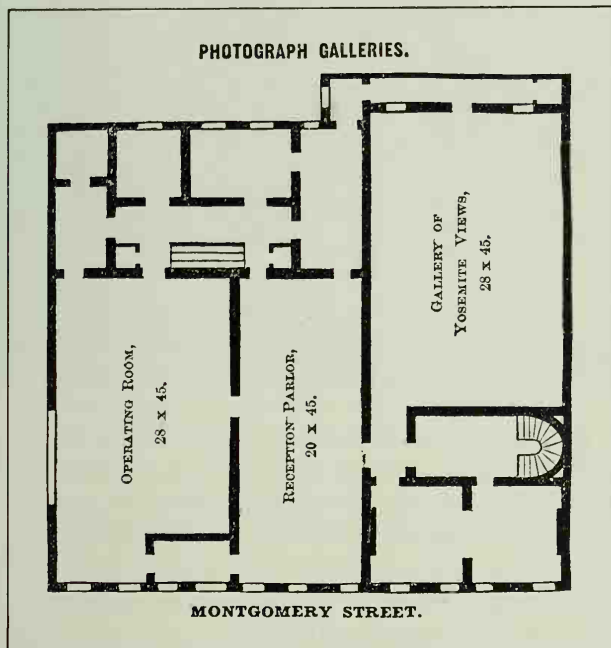
Highly esteemed as a photographic artist, Carleton Watkins also played a seldom-discussed role as a publisher of western photography. During his long and productive career as an artistic photographer, he was often published, and sometimes victimized, by other photographers and publishers. Watkins, in turn, published not only his own work, but that of A. A. Hart and Louis Heller. This activity placed him in head-on competition with many of the best photographic publishers in America, including Thomas Houseworth & Company, E. & H. T. Anthony, Bradley & Rulofson, the Kilburn brothers, and J. J. Reilly. In the early years, Watkins had formed brief business alliances with several of them; by the late 1860's he sought to join their ranks. Unhappily, as his biographer has noted, he proved "more of an artist than a businessman,"⁶³ and he was to suffer severe distress, including a bankruptcy, for his efforts.

The establishment of Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery in 1867 appears to mark the beginning of his determination to commercially control and guarantee authorship of his own photographs. Capitalizing on the international acclaim won by his mammoth-plate Yosemite views, Watkins wished to elevate his artistic efforts to a clearly distinctive status. In part, he envisioned himself as the manager of a fine arts gallery in which he would be an important arbiter of artistic standards for landscape photography. For the first time he began religiously to sign his name, assign negative numbers, and affix typeset legends and copyright information to his work.

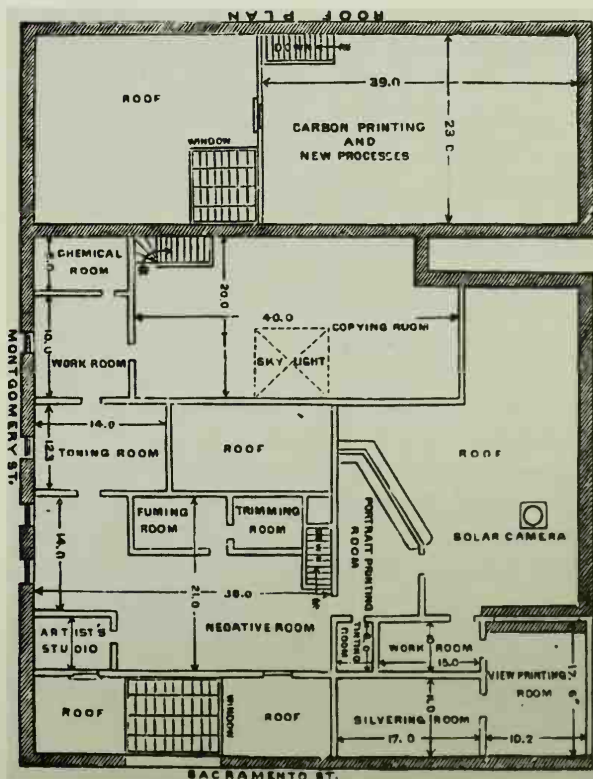
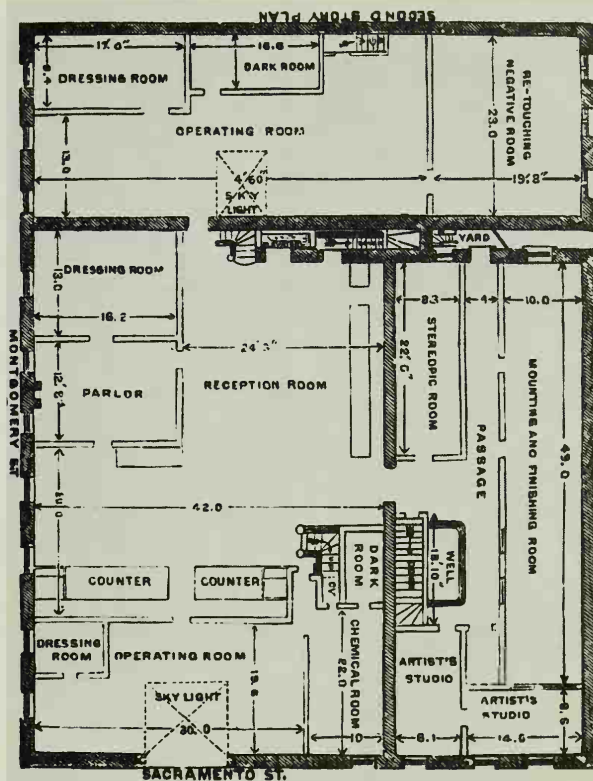
While Watkins' giant Yosemite views were the featured attraction of his gallery, he counted on commercial stereograph production to provide much of the day-by-

Peter Palmquist is a photographer at Humboldt State University, Arcata, and the author of several books and articles on early California photographers. He recently organized the exhibition "Photographers of the Humboldt Bay Region, 1850-1978," based on his years of collecting and research into the regional photography of Northern California.

Although Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery (below) served as a showplace for his photographs, it was inadequate for volume production. Some 3500 of the gallery's 5200 square feet was devoted to public areas.



The stereographic-view trade had long been dominated by such large eastern establishments as E. & H. T. Anthony & Co. The beginning of the 1870's, however, saw many regional photographers adopt the stereograph as a profitable adjunct to their regular gallery operations.⁶⁴ In the West this influx of local stereo production succeeded in breaking the monopoly of the eastern publishers. Thus, one historian estimates, by 1879 between 12,000 and 15,000 different stereograph titles had been marketed in California alone.⁶⁵ Views of Yosemite and the Big Trees areas were easily the most popular in the West, rivaling the seemingly innumerable reproductions of America's most famous vista, Niagara Falls.⁶⁶



1847

You are most cordially invited, together with your friends, to visit

Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery,
(FOUNDED AND LANDSCAPE.)
22 and 26 Montgomery St., opposite Lick House Entrance,
UP STAIRS,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Our Photographic Portraits, of every style, are unequalled by any in San Francisco, and our collection of Landscape Views, large, stereoscopic, and intermediate sizes, embracing Yosemite Valley, Mono Lake, Tioga, Mount Shasta, Oregon, Columbia River, Pacific Railroad, Coast, Mining, City, etc., will, we feel assured, give you pleasure to examine, as it will us to extend to you every courtesy in our power.

Respectfully Yours,
C. E. WATKINS,
Portrait and Landscape Photographer.

ENGLISH OPINION.
From "Art Journal," August, 1872.
But in all that has depended on human art, he has been most successful—especially in the selection of pictorial points of view, as well as in the delicate manipulation which is necessary to give true scope to the magic chemistry of light. Between the wonders of Nature and the skill of man, we have certainly before us in these views of the Yosemite Valley, the finest photographs that have been seen in Europe. It is no small satisfaction to be able to bear this testimony to the work of an American artist. To the lover of Nature, in her most sublime aspects, as well as to the collectors of what is most rare and perfect in photography, we can recommend no higher treat than will be presented by the purchase of Mr. Watkins' photographs of the Valley of the Grizzly Bear.

AMERICAN OPINION.
From the "Springfield Republican," April 18th, 1872.
So it is with Watkins in his pictures of California Scenery. He makes a close artistic study of the attitudes of Nature, and the true lights of the day, and gives himself, his instruments, and his chemicals, the advantage thereof, with the result of perfect pictures in combination and form and effect, as painter ever gathered through his artistic perception and his ingenious grouping of the scene of nature.

The only Medal awarded by the Paris Exposition for California Photography.

Stereoscopic Views, \$1.50 Per Doz.

CAPTAIN JACK.
I certify that L. HELLER has this day taken the Photographs of the above Modoc Indian, prisoner under my charge.
Capt. C. B. THURGOOD, 4th U. S. Artillery, Officer of the Day.
I am cognizant of the above fact. GEN. JEFF. C. DAVIS, U. S. A.

4687

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While Watkins' landscape views continued to be popular, Yosemite did not stay especially linked to his name for long. Competing Yosemite views by photographers such as Charles Weed, the Bierstadt brothers, T. C. Roche, John P. Soule, B. W. Kilburn, Eadweard Muybridge, and others diluted the market. Public demand for landscape stereos soared during the early 1870's, forcing an industry-wide scramble for new and more diverse titles. The larger publishing houses met this need by hiring more photographers, or through leasing or purchasing negatives from free-lance professionals.⁶⁷ Watkins sought diversity by purchasing stereograph negatives of the Central Pacific Railroad taken by a Sacramento-based artist, A. A. Hart,⁶⁸ and he had already broadened his inventory with many new views of the Pacific Northwest, especially his Oregon and Washington landscapes which he copyrighted in 1867. Others were added during his 1870 excursion to the Mount Lassen-Mount Shasta area of Northern California when he accompanied Clarence King's Fortieth Parallel Survey.

After the trip to Oregon and Washington, Watkins began to issue his own "Pacific Coast" series. Presumably, he hoped to compete with other commercially marketed sets such as Houseworth's "Scenery on the Pacific Coast."

Watkins probably obtained the Central Pacific Railroad negatives in 1870, not long after Hart's untimely death. The 364 negatives in this group show the progress of the rail construction as well as many vistas of the surrounding countryside.⁶⁹ Watkins immediately offered these views under his own name, but he retained Hart's negative numbering and titling.

The acquisition of Hart's railroad views was especially important to Watkins. The newly-built transcontinental railroad brought a steady stream of travelers to the West, and these tourists eagerly purchased photographic views picturing the same terrain that they had observed from their coach windows. Houseworth, Bradley & Rulofson, J. J. Reilly, and even E. & H. T. Anthony all actively competed for this market which Watkins hoped to dominate. In 1873, Watkins traveled to Utah to produce additional railroad views to add to his growing selection.

In 1873, Watkins also obtained a small but important group of negatives depicting the Modoc Indian War from Louis Heller of Fort Jones, California.⁷⁰ After a short stint of self-publishing, Heller apparently sought out Watkins to mass-produce his images. On June 25, 1873, the *Yreka Journal* reported that the photos were being "finished in good style at Watkins' establishment on Montgomery Street, San Francisco, 20 women and a

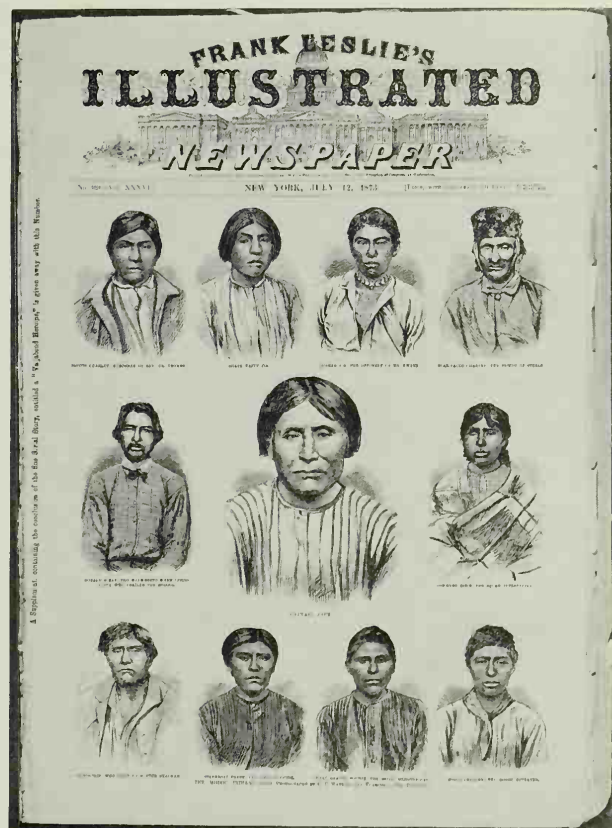
Indian leader Captain Jack and other Modoc War prisoners including Scar-Faced Charley were photographed by Louis Heller and published by Watkins. The verso of the prisoner photographs carried Watkins' advertisement. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper of July 12, 1873, ran engravings taken from these images, which the magazine credited to Watkins. Only the Yreka Journal's July 2, 1873, advertisement acknowledged Heller as the photographer.

number of Chinamen being kept constantly at work. . . .” Soon thereafter, Watkins issued Heller's stereographs on his “Watkins' Pacific Coast” cards, including Heller's name on the mount. These views proved especially important to Watkins' portfolio because of the great public interest created by this controversial and bloody conflict in Northern California. Moreover, his principal competitor, Bradley & Rulofson, was publishing similar images by their ace photographer, Eadweard Muybridge.

From 1867 until 1875, Watkins seems to have been prosperous.⁷¹ In 1872 he moved to an elegant new facility at 22-26 Montgomery Street, advertising this gallery widely and flamboyantly. The 1872 San Francisco city directory carried a splashy, full-page notice, and the *Buyers Manual and Business Guide* of the same year praised Watkins' facilities as “one of the largest and most finely fitted-up photography galleries on this continent.” It further reported:

The walls of the room, called the Yosemite Art Gallery, are adorned with one hundred and twenty-five of those superb views of Pacific Coast Scenery (in size 18x22 inches). . . . Here also may be found stereoscopic views by the thousand—views in Oregon; views on the Central Pacific Railroad; views of Yosemite's wonders; views of almost everything curious, grand or instructive. . . . Mr. Watkins has placed all this luxury and elegance; all of these sources of refined and rational enjoyment at the disposal—not only of his immediate patrons, but the public at large. . . . In one thing only will the stranger be disappointed, perhaps; receiving first-class work produced by first-class mechanical appliances; he may expect to pay exorbitant prices. . . .⁷²

This last statement had ominous portent for the fortune of Watkins' establishment. In 1876, the San Francisco city directory failed to publish a notice about Watkins, and an advertisement appeared that indicated that I. W. Taber had become the owner of Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery. Charles Turrill, a close friend of Watkins in his later years, reported that Taber had loaned Watkins money, subsequently foreclosing on the loan when Watkins was out of town. Turrill further indicated



New, This Week.

Capt. Jack and his Warriors

COMPLETE SETS,

**Photographed from life
by L. Heller,**

**Just Received from WATKINS' YOSEMITE
GALLERY, San Francisco.**

Price \$4 Per Dozen.

For Sale by RAYNES & PYLE,

Sole Agents for Siskiyou County.

**Also, Stereoscopic Views of Lava Bed,
Camp Scenes, etc.**

Watkins advertised his medal won at the
Paris International Exposition in
1868 on the back of his stereo views
and in the city directory.

Advertising in the 1876 city directory for
San Francisco, I. W. Taber and Co.
controlled Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery.
Taber reduced prices to undercut the strong
competition in the city.

SPHERICAL!
SPHERICAL PHOTOGRAPHS

THIS DESIGN, FOR BEAUTY and STYLE,
SURPASSES EVERYTHING in the PHOTOGRAPHIC ART,

ORIGINATED BY
I. W. TABER & CO.,
1876.

THE WELL-KNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER, **I. W. TABER**, came to this coast 11 years ago, under an engagement with Bradley & Bulofson. For seven years he was the head operator of that establishment. The past few years he has held a like position with G. D. Morse. The public know of the success of these leading Galleries during his connection with them, having produced the most beautiful Photographs made on this coast, he being the author of *The Promenade* and many other styles which have been so popular. Being at the head of the profession, he has by steady application to business taken more Photographs than any other artist on this coast. His inventive genius and ability have done more than that of any other to secure for California the pride of producing the best Photographs in the world.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—He has now, in connection with T. H. Boyd (who is also a fine operator), secured the most desirable gallery in San Francisco. The rooms are spacious, and elegantly furnished with every convenience. The skylight room is the finest in the State. The light is so arranged that the operator can secure those beautiful results of light and shade so desirable for artistic work. With these advantages he is enabled to produce better Photographs than heretofore, at **Thirty per cent. Less Price.** Cabinets, formerly \$10 and \$12 per dozen, will be furnished at \$6 and \$7 per dozen. Pictures of children taken by the extra quick working camera—always successful. As Mr. Taber and Mr. Boyd intend doing their own operating, they can make this reduction, and each will take a pride in producing the Finest Photographs ever made in this city. The gallery is central to all the leading hotels and horse-car routes in the city, being directly opposite the Lick House door. Remember,

I. W. TABER & CO.,
YOSEMITE ART GALLERY,
24, 26 and 28 Montgomery St., opp. Lick House.

THE "WATKINS" Celebrated Yosemite Views Department is connected with this establishment, making it the most interesting gallery to visit on the Pacific Coast.

that Taber acquired all of the assets of Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery, including negatives and photographic equipment.⁷³ Shortly, Taber began to issue Watkins' early Yosemite views under his own name. Many pictures included in Taber's publications such as *The Monarch*, *Souvenir of Sunset City*, and *Sunset Scenes*, views which were issued in fifteen portfolios at the time of San Francisco's 1884 Midwinter Fair, were photographed by Watkins.⁷⁴

Some years later, Watkins bitterly recalled this loss of his prized negatives:

The old negatives are gone . . . as well as everything else that I had. In other words that d--- thief of a crook has got everything away from me, and I don't propose to cry about it, but to give him ----. Well, I am going to stay with him for the balance of my life.⁷⁵

The circumstances surrounding Watkins' loss indicates that he had financially overextended himself at a particularly bad time. Not only had his gallery expansion been expensive, but it had coincided with the intense ballyhoo which had accompanied the introduction of Eadweard Muybridge's mammoth Yosemite views. Photo historian Weston Naef also speculates that "Watkins' future was seriously damaged by the pattern of (public) demand. He was by temperament a risk taker . . . preferring to take photographs he perceived as beautiful rather than those which were good commercial prospects."⁷⁶ Perhaps of even greater consequence, a financial depression held San Francisco in its grip.

Although severely damaged by the Taber incident, Watkins began the slow process of rebuilding. He now undertook to produce and publish a completely new set of titles which he called "Watkins' New Series." Re-photographing many of his best known Yosemite views, he also made new studies of that region. In addition he sought a much wider selection of subject matter and ranged widely throughout California, recording native plants, landforms, ethnic peoples, missions, and views of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Later he photographed in Arizona and traveled as far north as British Columbia in search of diversity.⁷⁷

Watkins' undertaking was monumental, not only because of the immense task of obtaining a new inventory, but because commercial photography was also undergoing many changes. Competition in stereograph production had become increasing severe, and mass production, pirating, and sub-standard quality raised havoc with prices. During the 1860's and early 1870's Watkins



sold his stereoscopic views in a cloth-covered box for \$5 per dozen.⁷⁸ By 1873, these same stereographs were selling for \$1.50 per dozen.⁷⁹ Writing in the *Philadelphia Photographer* in 1874, California photographer J. J. Reilly complained:

Fine work is not appreciated by the public in stereoscopic views. The man who can furnish the cheapest sells most without regard to quality. . . . I used to get \$24 per gross for stereoscopic views some eight years ago at Niagara, and two years ago \$24 per gross for views of the Yosemite valley, and today I can get barely half that. It is not because my views are poorer, for they are at least fifty percent better, but the men who handle them say, 'I can buy views from Mr. A. at \$12 per gross, and why do you ask more?' Why? because my views are better. 'Yes, but the public don't see any difference. . . .'⁸⁰

Watkins' discouragement with the public's fickleness and lack of standards is nowhere more apparent than in a letter he wrote in 1880 to his new wife, Frances Sneed, in which he expressed the cut-throat nature of the business:

When a customer comes in your place, get all you can in the way of price but don't let one go on account of price. Sell all you [can] for all you can get. That is the rule of all other dealers in my goods, and I have stood out for a good price to my own detriment long enough. This year give 'em h— with their own shot.⁸¹

Watkins' letter reflects the disillusionment of a man whose self-esteem had been badly damaged by his

repeated failure to receive just return for his artistic efforts. While he appears to say, "If you can't beat them, join them," it is a fact that his production quality remained consistently high throughout his life. Seemingly, he could not allow shoddy craftsmanship to carry his name.

Watkins continued to produce his second series amidst numerous difficulties, including competition from his own early Yosemite views held by Taber. The San Francisco city directories list Watkins as being the manager of the Watkins Yosemite Art Gallery until at least 1890, but the actual proprietorship continued to be held by others.⁸²

For some fifty years, Watkins was acclaimed as one of the foremost photographers of the California landscape. He made substantial amounts of money, only to lose it through his poor business judgment. Once writing in the face of adversity, "If this business don't give us a living, we will go and squat on some government land and raise spuds,"⁸³ he persevered at his chosen craft. Although a failure in many of his business undertakings, Carleton E. Watkins succeeded in establishing a truly enduring legacy of art.

The Watkins studio blueprint is from Price and Haley, *Buyers' Manual and Business Guide* (1872), p. 153; Bradley & Rulofson's blueprint is from the *Philadelphia Photographer* (1874), p. 206-07. The Indian portraits are courtesy the Siskiyou County Museum.

After 1875: Watkins' Mature Years

Carleton Watkins' *Pacific Coast Album* of 102 photographs (14 missing), a volume owned by the California Historical Society, offers a good survey of the photographer's work after 1875. It contains numerous Southern California and southwestern views (Watkins rarely photographed south of Carmel prior to 1875) and evidences Watkins' broadened understanding of the character of his adopted state. In addition to photographing tourist sites, industries, cities, and the Northern California wilderness, he expanded his subjects to ethnic groups, including the Chinese and Mexicans; more varied flora, including cacti and the semi-tropical plants of the southern coast; and more varied land forms, including the fertile Central Valley and the desert. Watkins chose to photograph not only the grand natural or manmade monuments, but subjects which he as a photographer had to seek out and discover. The charm of the native Californians captured in *Santa Barbara Beauties*, for example, caught Watkins' eye no less than that of Senator Latham's statue *Aphrodite*, which he photographed in 1872-1875.

Watkins also recognized the historical significance of the Spanish missions, and he made the first known photographic series of them by following the mission trail home from Los Angeles to San Francisco. Years later, when the value of the missions was officially recognized and their restoration begun, Watkins' photographs served as documents of their condition prior to modern changes and repairs.

Watkins' later photographs reveal the photographer's increasing preference for

(Continued on page 263)

Interior of Chinese Restaurant, San Francisco





Santa Barbara Beauties

*Mexican Cottage and Group,
Tejon Ranch*



Irrigating Alfalfa Fields, Kern County



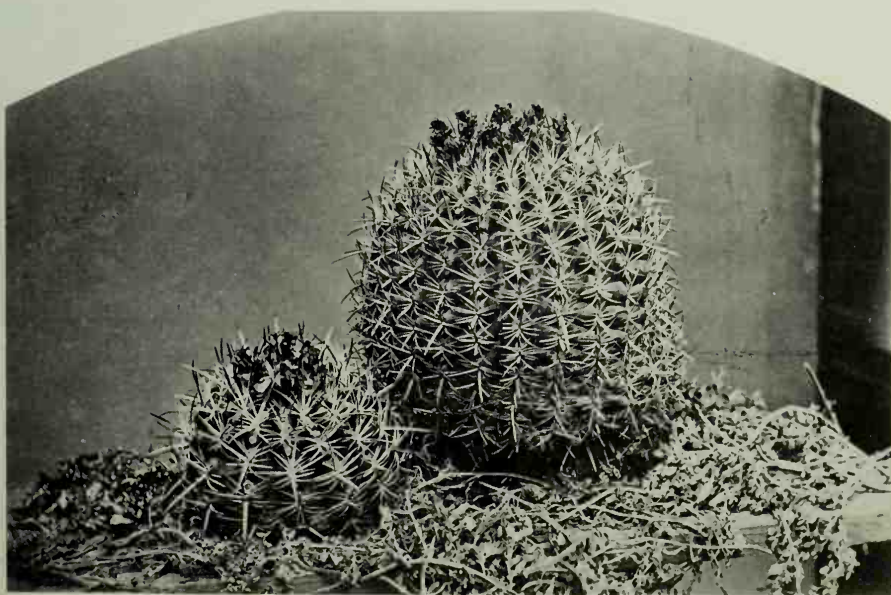
Sea Aquarium near Santa Cruz



Cat-tail and Tules



Jewett's Lane, Bakersfield



*Cactus (Echinocactus vividescens)
Southern California*



*Mission San Juan Capistrano, Established
November 1, 1776*

*Mission Santa Barbara, Established
December 4, 1786*



emphasizing the abstract elements of his images, the arrangement of light and dark shapes, and the juxtaposition of textures. In narrowed subjects such as *Cat-tail and Tules* and *Sea Aquarium near Santa Cruz*, the abstract pattern no longer serves to establish the tone for the photograph, but becomes the reason for the picture itself.

Although there were probably many reasons for Watkins' change of images—a need for new subjects in a market

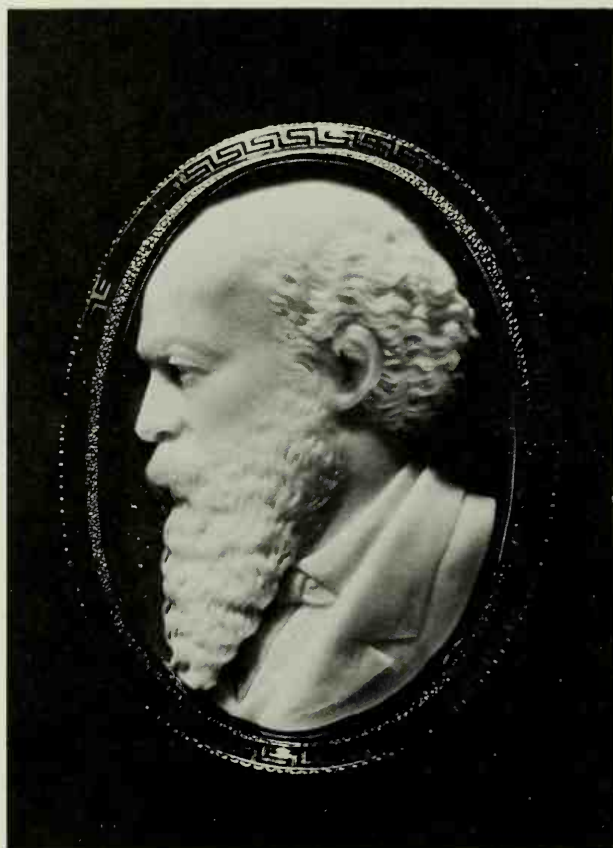
glutted with the old, a continuation of his photographic exploration of the West, and commissions which required him to travel—Watkins' Southern California photographs mark a change in, or at least a maturation of, his photographic consciousness. Further study of this album and other collections dating after 1875 will illuminate the historical, technical, and artistic accomplishments of the famous photographer in his mature years.

Photographs are from *Pacific Coast Views*, a bound album in the CHS Library. Most of the $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ photographs, of which Watkins made stereographic copies, are from his "Boudoir Series."

A Watkins Chronology

- 1829 Born November 11 in Oneonta, New York
- 1851/52 Arrived in San Francisco
- 1854 Worked as clerk at G. W. Murray & Co.
- c. 1854 Employed by daguerreotypist Robert Vance, who taught him photography
- 1855-61 Photographed New Idrea and New Almaden mines and Mission Santa Clara (according to Turrill)
- 1859 Photographed Mariposa-Bear Valley area for James Hutchings
- 1861 First listed in San Francisco Directory as daguerrean operator at 425 Montgomery. Acquired mammoth-view camera and made first series of Yosemite views
- 1863 Received critical acclaim—favorable review by Oliver Wendell Holmes and a show at Goupil's Gallery in New York
- 1864 Photographed Yosemite for U.S. survey team led by J. D. Whitney
- 1865 Photographed Schuyler Colfax party in Yosemite
- 1866 Photographed Yosemite again for Whitney and California Geological Survey
- 1867 Opened the Yosemite Art Gallery at 425 Montgomery (listed as 429 Montgomery by 1871). First copyrighted photographs. Photographed Oregon and Columbia River area
- 1868 Won medal for landscape views at Paris Exposition. Friend William Keith engraved a logotype of medal for the verso of Watkins' stereo mounts
- 1870 Photographed Mount Shasta-Mount Lassen area with Clarence King and U.S. Geological Survey

Cameo of Carleton Watkins



- 1871 Photographed North Bloomfield Gravel Mines in Nevada County for potential buyers
- 1872 Moved the Yosemite Art Gallery to new, luxurious quarters at 22-26 Montgomery
- 1874-75 Lost gallery and most of its contents to I. W. Taber
- 1876 Photographed Comstock Lode and Virginia City

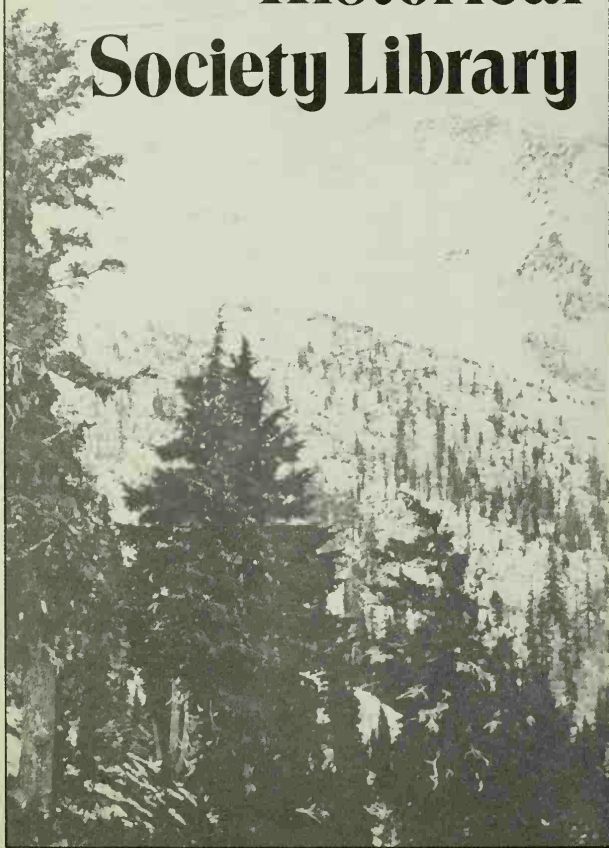
- 1876-79 Watkins associated with gallery, but Taber listed as owner
- 1880 Watkins moved to 427 Montgomery; Taber to 8 Montgomery. Southern California trip: photographed along Southern Pacific Lines, Arizona, Missions. Photographed Anaconda Copper Mines. Married Frances Sneed
- 1880s Photographed Golden Gate and Feather River land claims
- 1881-87 Yosemite Art Gallery established at 427 Montgomery with Watkins as manager and W. H. Lawrence (Superintendent, Spring Valley Water Works) as proprietor. Lawrence not listed after 1887
- 1889 Opened sales room at 26 New Montgomery in the Palace Hotel
- c. 1890 Photographed Northwest as far as British Columbia. Photographed Bakersfield area for Kern County Land Company (about 700 views). Photographed Anaconda Copper Mines and Butte, Montana
- 1890s Commissioned to photograph Phoebe Hearst's Hacienda del Pozo de Verona near Livermore, but unable to complete commission because of blindness
- 1892 Yosemite Art Gallery no longer listed in city directory
- 1879-1906 Watkins and family listed at 1249 Market
- 1906 Earthquake and fire destroyed the contents of Watkins' studio. Family moved to Capay Ranch
- 1910 Committed to Napa State Hospital for the Insane, January 2
- 1916 Watkins died June 23

An anonymous photographer caught this last picture of Watkins, sick and almost blind, being taken from his studio-home by his son Collis (on left) and a friend after the San Francisco earthquake.



The photo of the elderly Watkins is from the Society of California Pioneers. The photos on pages 264 and 269 are from the National Park Service, Yosemite Collection.

Watkins' Photographs in the California Historical Society Library



The Library of the California Historical Society possesses an excellent collection of Carleton E. Watkins' photographs. These include approximately 389 stereographs of San Francisco, Northern California, and western states; 146 cartes-de-visite, cabinet cards, and miscellaneous prints of the California missions; 92 mammoth views of Yosemite Valley, the Mariposa Estate, and the San Francisco waterfront; and 2 large leather-bound albums, *Pacific Coast Views* and *Photographic Views of the Falls and Valley in Yo-Semite Valley*. The Library's copy of J. D. Whitney's *Yosemite Book*, 1868, contains 20 original photographs by Watkins.

In Watkins' day, photography was often considered a technical, commercial skill rather than a personalized art form, and it was not uncommon for a photographer to sell negatives of his work to another operator. Many of Watkins' Pacific Railroad stereos were acquired in this manner from A. A. Hart, the official photographer of the Central Pacific Railroad. Many of the Indian photographs were the work of Louis Heller, who chronicled the Modoc War. Thus, a photograph carrying Watkins' logo is not necessarily his original work. One of the Watkins albums held by CHS, *Pacific Coast Views*, also includes material by other photographers such as William Henry Jackson.

A brief summary of the Library's holdings follows, with unusual images noted.

I. WATKINS STEREOGRAPHS, BY SERIES

C. E. Watkins, *Pacific Coast* (54)

San Francisco, Yosemite, Northern California scenery.

NOTEWORTHY: New Almaden Mine (old furnace bed, weighing quicksilver); shipwrecks (two of the *Viscata*, one unidentified); crowd of people watching the building of the *Comanche* in San Francisco; Eureka Warehouse at North Point.

Laverne Dicker is Curator of Photographs at the California Historical Society. Her article on California photographer Laura Adams Armer appeared in the Summer, 1977, issue of this magazine.

Watkins' Pacific Coast (163)

California and other coastal states.

NOTEWORTHY: Interior and exterior views of the W. C. Ralston residence in Belmont; sea lions, birds, and rock formations on the Farallon Islands; Casa de Pingaree, Malakoff, Nevada County; Captain Jack's cave; The Geysers, Sonoma County; interior of the Lick House dining room; photograph of a painting by W. Bouguereau—barefoot girl with a bowl.

Watkins' Pacific Railroad and Central Pacific Railroad (19)

Railroad construction, tracks, trains.

NOTEWORTHY: Tunnel #12, showing placement of steel reinforcements inside the tunnel.

Pacific Coast Views, C. E. Watkins, San Francisco (13)

Yosemite and San Francisco.

Watkins' New Series (140)

General California and San Francisco scenes, Nevada mining country.

NOTEWORTHY: Exhibit of Watkins' photographs; ferry departing from the Oakland wharf; interior view of Carmel Mission; Santa Monica Hotel; interior, Consolidated Virginia Pan Mill, Nevada; unidentified Indian with painted face; Ophir hoisting works, Nevada; panoramas of "Pasadena"; bee ranch, San Gabriel; California missions.

II. NON-STEREO VIEWS, BY SERIES

Watkins' New Boudoir Series. Yo Semite and Pacific Coast (79)

General California scenes.

NOTEWORTHY: Hotel Del Monte and grounds, Monterey; railroad scenes, Camp Capitola; *Queen of the Pacific* leaving San Francisco for San Diego; shell merchant at Pescadero; Chinese fishing village, Monterey; beaching a whale.

Watkins' New Cabinet Series. Yo Semite and Pacific Coast (6)

California missions and residences.

Watkins' New Series. Yo Semite and Pacific Coast (2)

South San Francisco, Fort Point.

C. E. Watkins' Art Gallery (4)

Miscellaneous portraits.

Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery (13)

Portraits, Yosemite Valley views.

NOTEWORTHY: full-length portrait of Korean nobleman, c. 1870.

Miscellaneous (42)

Assorted views.

NOTEWORTHY: reproductions of paintings; large mission views mounted on cardboard.

III. OTHER WATKINS HOLDINGS

Oversize prints (95)

Yosemite, the Mariposa Estate in 1864, San Francisco and waterfront.

Albums (2)

Photographic Views of the Falls and Valley in Yo-Semite Valley—1863 (51 photographs)

Pacific Coast Views (102 pages)

San Francisco and Northern California, Oregon, Arizona, and Colorado. Some prints by William Henry Jackson and others.

Book (1)

Yosemite Book, 1868, by J. D. Whitney, containing original Watkins photographs.

Notes

1. Charles B. Turrill, "An Early California Photographer: C. E. Watkins," *News Notes of California Libraries*, 13 (January, 1918): 29-37. This article is soon to be republished by the Photographic Archives of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
2. J. W. Johnson, *The Early Pacific Coast Photographs of Carleton E. Watkins*—Archives Series Report No. 8 (Berkeley: Water Resources Center, University of California), 1960; 1976 reprint edition by Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
3. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," *Atlantic Monthly*, 12 (July, 1863): 7-8.
4. This information is from a series of interviews in 1949 with Watkins' daughter Julia by Ralph Anderson. Notes from these talks and a taped interview are on file at Yosemite National Park.
5. Turrill, "Watkins," 36.
6. David S. Lavender, *The Great Persuader* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970); Cerinda W. Evans, *Collis Potter Huntington*, 2 vols. (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariner's Museum, 1954). Neither author mentions Watkins.
7. C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York: published for the author by Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1890), p. 494; Louis J. Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists*, II, IV, (Colma, S.F. Historical Records, 1966). The ship *Northerner* arriving from Panama lists C. P. Huntington and Lady as passengers.
8. Turrill, "Watkins," 36.
9. Julia Watkins, taped interview with Pauline Grenbeaux, winter, 1976.
10. Turrill, "Watkins," 36.
11. *Ibid.*, 29, 30. Turrill said the construction occurred in 1854, but the city directory for that year gives the 1853 date.
12. Current research about Robert Vance soon to be published by Peter Palmquist investigates the dates and affiliations of the several galleries owned by Vance in the 1850's and 1860's. The investigation casts some doubt that there was a gallery in San Jose under Vance's name for any length of time. The separate accounts of the Vance story by Turrill (p. 30) and Julia Watkins (previously cited interview) agree. Both sources were certain that Watkins went to San Jose to work for Vance.
13. Turrill, "Watkins," 31.
14. *Ibid.*, 30; Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1829-1889* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1938), pp. 255-6.
15. Weston J. Naef and James N. Wood, *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1865* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), pp. 80-82. Also see note 56 in Nanette Sexton's essay in this issue.
16. [Robert Vance], preface to *Catalogue of Daguerreotype Panoramic Views in California by Robert Vance*, 1851.
17. Turrill, "Watkins," 30-31. Turrill may be referring to the New Almaden views only when he says they were paper-printed. The Watkins photocopy of New Idrea at the Bancroft Library appears to be from a heavily painted daguerreotype.
18. *Ibid.*, 30.
19. *San Jose Evening Tribune*, March 5, 1856. This ad ran through the summer.
20. *San Jose Evening Tribune*, December 10, 1856, no. 23. This ad ran through March, 1857.
21. *San Jose Evening Tribune*, November 23, 1860, no. 21. This ad ran for several years.
22. Turrill, "Watkins," 31.
23. *Ibid.*, 32.
24. Mary V. Hood, "Charles L. Weed: Yosemite's First Photographer," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 38, no. 6 (June, 1959): 82-3.
25. Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," 7.
26. Fitz Hugh Ludlow, "Seven Weeks in the Great Yosemite," *Atlantic Monthly*, 13 (June, 1864): 739-754.
27. Mrs. Byron Dexter letter, printed by Paul Vanderbilt, *Guides to the Special Collections of Prints and Photographs in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1955), p. 96.
28. Naef and Wood, *Era of Exploration*, 39.
29. *Ibid.*, 38-39.
30. Turrill, "Watkins," 29-37.
31. The photographs are approximately 13 1/2" x 16" with round tops on plain mounts. The California Historical Society collection of forty-six prints was acquired from Olmstead Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts. The acquisition date is not recorded, but the date of the photographs is registered as 1864. The Bancroft Library collection of thirty-two prints was a gift of Cornelia H. James. Neither collection is signed by the photographer, but both came to their institutions with attribution to Watkins; the handwritten titles on the backs are similar to those of Watkins' later prints; and several of the titles appear in Watkins' pocket diary of 1864 (which is also at the Bancroft Library). More importantly, both collections contain a view of J. C. Frémont's residence in Bear Valley which also appears in a Watkins album dated 1886 at the California State Library along with five other Mariposa views clearly from the same series.
32. A. Schwartz, "Pen and Pencil Sketches of Bear Valley: Its Surrounding Scenery and Mineral Resources," *Hutchings California Magazine*, 4 (July, 1859): 100-108.
33. R. R. Olmsted, ed., *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity from Hutchings California Magazine: 1856-1861* (San Francisco: Howell-North, 1961), p. vi.
34. *Mariposa Gazette*, September 13, 1859, n. p.
35. Schwartz, "Pen and Pencil Sketches," 105.
36. *Ibid.*, 107.
37. The stereographs have white paper mats and tan paper binding tapes. Each view is signed and carries a handwritten number and title. The numbers range 1 through 100; one is unnumbered.



Watkins' children, Collis and Julia, peered through a doorway in the Austin Building. Watkins' family usually lived adjacent to his studio.

The collection appears to be intact as the box has exactly seventy-two slots.

38. The California Historical Society owns nine of Watkins' glass stereographs, six of which show Yosemite scenes and five of which are duplicated in the Baird Collection. Baird (1823-1887) was assistant secretary of the Smithsonian from 1850 to 1878 and made secretary in 1878. The seller's catalogue for the Yosemite collection says: "Baird published over 1200 papers and was instrumental in building the natural history collections at the Smithsonian. His influence made the U. S. government western explorations important sources of new scientific information. Quite likely, his interest in these early western discoveries led to his acquisition of the Watkins photographs as soon as they were published." See *Yosemite Photographs of Carleton E. Watkins*, sales catalogue for Russell Norton (New Haven, Conn., 1976), p. 11.
39. Turrill, "Watkins," 32.
40. Willingham F. Rawnsley, ed., *The life, diaries and correspondence of Lady Jane Franklin, 1792-1875* (London: MacDonald, 1923), 232 pp., noted in sales catalogues as above; Catherine Coffin Phillips, [The] *Coulterville Chronicle* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1942), p. 180.
41. Naef and Wood, *Era of Exploration*, 82.
42. Ibid.
43. Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," 7-8.
44. J. D. Whitney, *Geology: Report of Progress and Synopsis of the Field-work from 1860-1864* (Philadelphia: Claxton Press, 1865), p. 408.
45. It was the practice in the 1850's to credit the gallery rather than the individual operator. Daguerreotypes which bear the stamp

of Vance may actually be Watkins' work. Peter Palmquist's soon-to-be-published research into Vance's career should cast more light on the circumstances surrounding the association of two men.

46. No. 1235, *Mission Santa Clara*, and no. 1236, *Mission San Francisco de Asís*, Watkins' New Series, 26 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, in the collection of the Huntington Library. The "New Series" was published after 1875.
47. This date is based on the date of the addition of a clock on the bell tower.
48. Salt paper was the earliest form of silver-halide printing paper. Salt prints are characterized by a dull matt finish; in contrast to the glossy finish of albumen paper, the image appeared to be fused into the paper rather than a part of the glossy albumin surface. Salt paper was used extensively by portrait galleries because it was easy to hand color. Why Watkins printed this set of views on salt paper is unclear, for he never used it again. It may be that he was working in a portrait gallery—Vance's—and used the conventional gallery equipment for this special commission.
49. Collodion, a viscous transparent substance, was mixed with potassium iodide and then poured over the clean glass plate. Watkins had to take great care to pour the mixture evenly over the entire plate, a procedure that required agility and much practice. The plate was then sensitized with silver nitrate and immediately placed in the camera where it was exposed while it was still wet. (The chemicals deteriorated if the collodion was allowed to dry.) The plate was then returned to the dark tent and the latent image developed with pyrogallie acid or ferrous sulphate and then fixed with sodium thiosulphate. The entire

process, depending on the exposure, took between forty-five minutes to an hour.

50. Although the Schwartz article in which some of Watkins' Mariposa views were reproduced contains illustrations of the interiors of several mines, the lack of sufficient light made it impossible for Watkins to photograph the operations within the mines.
51. *The Philadelphia Photographer*, January 1866, p. 21.
52. A comparison of Watkins' photograph of the Frémont residence and the engraved version shows that the engraver eliminated the long stretch of foreground which Watkins had to include due to the narrow range of the Chevalier lens. Watkins was forced to stand quite a distance away to encompass all the structures that made up the Frémont residence. See also essay on Mariposa views in this issue.
53. Watkins must have used the standard Chevalier lens (a double-objective achromat which could be converted from portrait to landscape work by reversing one objective) for his Mariposa views. This lens covered a small angle of view, approximately 25°. Roger Kingslake, "Early Landscape Lenses," *Image*, March, 1955, p. 21.
54. The emulsion was particularly sensitive to blue light. A sufficient exposure for the green of the landscape overexposed the sky area, rendering it a textureless blank area when printed.
55. Turrill, "Watkins," 32.
56. This device was not necessarily used for picturesque effect, as has been suggested by some Watkins enthusiasts. William Culp Darrah, a leading expert on stereo views, believes that Watkins was not influenced by the picturesque European landscape style as early as 1861 because the views were not available in California.
57. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1859, p. 744.
58. Holmes, "Doings of the Sunbeam," 8.
59. Number 26, not illustrated, is the final close-up view of the falls. This view excludes entirely the outline of the rock formation.
60. To date this writer has found this view in only three collections.
61. Coleman Sellers, a leading photographic authority of the period, described the difference made by the new Globe lens: "I remember once standing on a bridge—camera in hand and looking up the romantic Wissahicon. The picture presented to my eye was very beautiful—the centre a waterfall framed in on both sides by the arch of a railroad bridge crossing at the tops of the cliffs. The foreground was made up of a stone bed, where danced and foamed the rapid current. I planted the camera and hoped soon to peel off from this charming view a cuticle (as Dr. Holmes says) which like plates of mica could be split and re-split for the collections of my friends. But on the ground glass I found naught but the tumbling water. No rocks, no bridge, no stony river bed—the poor camera with its empty head was incapable of taking in the whole charming picture. One of the dreams of the photographer has been of an instrument which should embrace a large angle and thus satisfy the wants of the eye. . . ." "On the Globe Lens," *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, March, 1863, p. 321.
62. Whitney says on page 12 of his report that Watkins used the Dallmeyer lens belonging to the survey. However, this was in reference to the smaller format photographs made for the report. Dallmeyer did not at that time make a lens for mammoth photographs.
63. Turrill, "Watkins," 37.
64. Reese V. Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1839 to 1925* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 50.
65. William Culp Darrah, *Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs in America and their Collection* (Gettysburg: Times & News Publishing Co., 1964), p. 75.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, 55.
68. *Ibid.*, 35. Hart successfully marketed his own stereographs for many years. Besides his own issue, a number of Hart's early Central Pacific Railroad stereographs were also published by Whitney & Paradise of 585 Broadway, New York. These latter have a revenue tax stamp affixed to their verso confirming their production prior to August 1, 1866.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. Paul Hickman, "Carleton E. Watkins, 1829-1916," *Northlight*, no. 1 (Tempe: Arizona State University, January, 1977), p. 17.
72. *Buyers Manual & Business Guide* (San Francisco: J. Price & C. S. Haley, 1872), p. 53-54.
73. Turrill, "Watkins," 29. It should be noted that despite the assertion that Taber obtained all of Watkins' assets, little evidence exists which shows the use of Watkins' smaller negatives. The stereographs originally produced by Hart and Heller do not appear under the Taber imprint. Moreover, Watkins continues to issue these and many of his other stereographs as part of his "New Series" long after the Taber takeover.
74. Johnson, "The Early Pacific Coast Photographs," 62.
75. Correspondence to his wife, Watkins' file, Yosemite National Park.
76. Naef and Wood, *Era of Exploration*, 86.
77. Turrill, "Watkins," 34-35.
78. *Ibid.*, 33.
79. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1873.
80. J. J. Reilly, "Outdoor Work on the Pacific Coast," *Philadelphia Photographer*, 1874, p. 211.
81. Correspondence to his wife, previously cited.
82. Johnson, "The Early Pacific Coast Photographs," 62-63.
83. Correspondence to his wife, previously cited.

Blacks in California:
*An Annotated Guide to the Manuscript
Sources in the CHS Library*

Reviews

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

The staff of the California Historical Society Library is continually developing reference tools to aid researchers using the Society's more than 3000 manuscript collections. As part of that effort, this annotated guide to the manuscript sources related to blacks in California has been prepared to facilitate research on the black historical experience in the state.

Twenty-six items are listed; they are found in six collections created by blacks and ten collections created by whites which contain materials either by or about blacks. The material consists of letters, documents, and transcripts of oral history interviews. More than 100 years are covered by the sources which date from the 1830's to the 1950's.

The manuscript sources listed here provide many clues to the long and varied, if still unexplored, experiences of blacks in California. They represent the diversity of people and activities that make up the human experience. Among the people whose history is documented by these sources are a businessman, writer, playwright, union organizer, club women, and activists who spoke for the equal rights of blacks.

Of particular note are the papers of William A. Leidesdorff, which contain the account books and business correspondence from his commercial ventures and the letters he received as United States vice-consul. Included is a petition for the right of blacks to testify and serve as witnesses in California court cases involving whites. Also of interest are the papers from the trial of Charlotte L. Brown, who helped win for blacks the right to ride San Francisco's street cars. Both were part of the civil rights struggles of the 1850's and 1860's. From almost 100 years later are the letters of W. Robert Wells, an inmate of San Quentin who wrote about the inhuman conditions in prison and the injustice of his death sentence. The large 111-box collection of Mayor James Rolph

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Delilah Beasley, columnist with the Oakland Tribune, authored *Negro Trailblazers of California* based on her columns for the newspaper.



contains a letter from playwright Garland Anderson, written prior to his play's opening on Broadway, requesting financial support for the production. Asa Call's 1850-1853 diary reveals what one white man thought about blacks and slavery in California prior to the Civil War.

Preparation of this guide began with an examination of the library's card catalog and James de T. Abajian's *Blacks and their Contributions to the American West: A Bibliography and Union List of Library Holdings through 1870* (G. K. Hall, 1974). In addition, numerous CHS manuscript collections—especially those of political and public figures and organizations—were surveyed because material on blacks is often buried within these

collections. Histories of blacks in California were studied for clues to names and organizations in order to increase the probability of locating pertinent documents. The following resources were also checked: histories of black churches and programs of church meetings and conventions; programs and reports of meetings of black organizations, such as the Afro-American League, Freemasons, and the Booker T. Washington Community Center; Delilah Beasley's *Negro Trailblazers of California* (1919) and James de T. Abajian's *Blacks in Selected Newspapers, Censuses and other Sources: An Index to Names and Subjects* (1974) (both excellent sources for names); proceedings from the California colored conventions; black newspapers; articles in the *California Historical Quarterly*, *Pacific Historical Review*, and *Journal of Negro History*; and many other sources.

Examination of collections not previously identified as containing sources on blacks revealed no new information, with one exception: the Articles of Association of the Sacramento Republican Party. On the other hand, additional sources were found in the 111 boxes of Mayor Rolfe's papers, eight letters and a petition having been identified. No doubt this collection, as well as those of the California and the San Francisco Leagues of Women Voters (twenty-four and nineteen boxes respectively), contain more documents about blacks, but this search has yet to be completed.

The arrangement of the entries below is as follows: listed first is general information, such as name, vital dates, place of birth (if known), place of residence if place of birth is not known, occupation(s), and any significant historical role. The next section identifies the specific characteristics of the collection: type of material, time span, size of the collection. (The existence of the original document is assumed unless otherwise noted.) The third section describes the contents of the collection. Excerpts referring to blacks in diaries and letters, as well as items produced by blacks in collections created by whites, are described following the description of the collections.

More information about the collections is available in the descriptive guides containing subject headings and name entries filed in the CHS Library. In addition to the manuscript sources, the library also houses black newspapers, books and other printed materials, photographs, and ephemera on black people in California.

This history of black people is still being written, and many areas remain to be investigated. It is for the continued clarification and interpretation of that history that this guide has been compiled.

BEASLEY, Delilah Leontium (1871-1934), of Berkeley, California; writer.

Autographed letter signed (ALS), September 15, [192?], to Mrs. Loomis, photocopy.

Letter written by Beasley, a black woman, discussing personal matters and promotional efforts to sell her book, *Negro Trailblazers of California* (1919), the first history of blacks in California.

BLACKS IN CALIFORNIA, 1852-1863.

Petition, c. 1862. 1 folder.

Petition by blacks calling for the repeal of California laws which denied them the right of testimony in court cases related to whites; no signatures.

Organized opposition by blacks to the 1851 law that prohibited them from testifying or serving as witnesses in court actions involving whites included the formation of the Franchise League (1852) and the colored conventions of 1855-1857. The league and conventions produced petitions similar to this one, signed by blacks and whites, which were presented to the legislature. It was not until 1863 that the law was reformed.

BROWN, Charlotte L., of San Francisco; plaintiff.

Documents, 1865. 1 folder.

Legal documents and transcript of testimony from the 1865 court case brought by Brown, a black woman, against the Omnibus Railroad Company, charging an ejection from a street car in 1863. Includes notes of her attorney, W. C. Burnett, list of jurors, and a newspaper article describing a similar suit brought against the North Beach and Mission Railroad Company.

This court suit was one of a series filed by black people (including Mary Ellen Pleasant and William Bowen) against transportation companies in San Francisco. Blacks won the right to ride street cars in San Francisco in 1864.

Brown was the daughter of James Brown, activist and a founder of *The Mirror of the Times*, an early black newspaper.

CALL, Asa Cyrus (1823-?), of Iowa; farmer, cattle rancher, schoolteacher, judge.

Bound, typed copy of travel and daily diary, 1850-1853, 48 pages.

Overland journey from Indiana to Sonora, California; records agricultural development, weather, insects, animals, and plants of the Sonora region; Indians; Oberlin College; philosophical essays on slavery, death, the family, and nature.

Mentions run-away slaves going to California and California's constitutional prohibitions against slave owners bringing slaves into the state.

COLEMAN, William Tell (1830-1893) b. Kentucky; merchant, organizer and leader of the San Francisco Vigilance committees of 1851 and 1856.

Typed copy of 1878 reminiscence. 1 folder.

Reminiscences of voyage aboard the steamer *Tennessee* from New York to San Francisco via Panama, 1853, dealing with Coleman's takeover of the physician's duties after a major outbreak of yellow fever aboard ship.

Coleman recounts how his unnamed servant, "a free colored man . . . who was coming to California to better his condition" assisted him during the crisis.

COSAD, David, of New York; miner, carpenter.

Travel diary, March, 1849-February, 1850, 73 pages.

Overland journey from New York to Placerville; hardships of journey, supplies, gold mining, Indians, Blacks.

Cosad relates how a runaway slave, Jack Marney, joined his company of gold miners (October 6, 1849).

DANIELS, Helena A. Knitscheer (1865-?) of Holland; housewife, columnist.

Papers, 1893-1895. 5 folders.

Letters written for an Amsterdam newspaper column, "From California," by a Dutch woman who emigrated to San Francisco in 1893. Letters give a detailed record of San Francisco in the 1890's and include comments on the laboring classes, Chinese, women.

Comments on the size of the black population in California and the jobs held by blacks (March 16, 1893).

DELOSADA, Betty Baget (1921-) b. San Francisco; union organizer.

Papers, 1939-1964. 1 box, 1 volume.

DeLosada's papers include an essay on the labor movement; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union printed material; newspaper clippings; and correspondence from her husband Horace's files as business agent for ILWU, Local 6.

Wells, Wesley Robert (1909-?) b. Fort Worth, Texas; 8 TLS, October, 1953-April, 1955.

Letters to Horace DeLosada while Wells was on Death Row at San Quentin for assault of a prison guard. Includes a letter from Mayor George Christopher to DeLosada regarding the Wells case; pamphlet written by Wells and published by the San Francisco Civil Rights Congress giving biographical data on Wells and details of the successful campaign to remove him from Death Row.

KING, Thomas Starr (1824-1864) b. New York City; minister, lecturer.

6 ALS, 1860-1864. 1 folder.

Letters to N. A. Haven Ball, friend, businessman, and financier of King's lecture tours, concerning King's preaching and lecturing throughout the state, personal business investments, and family matters.

King, minister of the First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, and a prominent anti-slavery leader, established close ties with the black community in California. The two letters which refer to blacks (October 28 and 30, 1861) deal with his lecturing activities for black audiences.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA, 1911-.

Records, 1911-1955. 24 boxes and 1 package.

Includes minutes, correspondence, and printed material from the office files.

Black women organized chapters of the League of Women Voters in San Francisco, Alameda County, San Jose, Fresno, Modesto, Bakersfield, and Los Angeles. Among the women active in these chapters whose activities are mentioned in the archives of the California League are Hettie B. Tilghman, Delilah L. Beasley, Vivian L. Simmons, Mamie Smith,

Margaret J. Mabson, Mrs. Gregory Hobson, and Mrs. Bass, 1923-1932.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF SAN FRANCISCO, 1911-.

Records, 1911-1963. 19 boxes and 18 volumes.

Includes minutes of the board of directors, correspondence of presidents and secretaries, annual reports, scrapbooks, and other records.

Includes some information on the San Francisco Center, Colored League of Women Voters, and the activities of Margaret J. Mabson, director, 1923; and the work of Mabson, Mrs. Gregory Hobson and Mrs. Jeffrey T. Wilson with the San Francisco League's Get Out the Vote Committee, 1924.

LEIDESDORFF, William Alexander (1810-1848) b. St. Croix, Virgin Islands; merchant, U.S. vice-consul.

Papers, 1834-1857. 13 folders.

Leidesdorff, a black man, established himself in San Francisco in 1841 as a trader and merchant. He was appointed U.S. vice-consul by Thomas O. Larkin and served as a member of the town council and school board and treasurer of the city of San Francisco. His papers include correspondence, account books, orders, and receipts from his business concerns; photocopies of letters from Thomas O. Larkin and John B. Montgomery dealing with his appointment as vice-consul, and the raising of the American flag in California by Montgomery; other correspondence relating to his official position; and documents concerning his land grant, "Rio de los Americanos."

This collection also contains the papers of Joseph Libby Folsom and Henry W. Halleck, and city and state documents. The Folsom papers include documents pertaining to the Leidesdorff estate and his efforts to secure title. The Halleck papers are from the law firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings, and consist of many land grant claims and other legal documents, including some dealing with Leidesdorff's grant. Many of the documents are in Halleck's autograph.

ORR, Violet (1904-) b. San Francisco; laundry worker, union organizer.

Oral History Interview, 1976, by Lucy Kendall, typed transcript, 58 pages.

Typed transcript of tape-recorded interviews conducted May-December, 1976, for the Women in California Collection of the CHS Library. Interviews focused on women in



Members of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge (Freemasons) in Marysville, 1906. Black fraternal organizations have their roots in colonial times and formed an important part of the black community's experience in California.

the trade union and left-wing political movements during the 1930's and 1940's.

Comments cover childhood, education, family, employment as a laundry worker, union activities, membership and activities in the Communist Party, experiences in Russia after the 1917 Revolution, and peace work.

Includes discussion of work with Jane Gray, a black woman, and their efforts to secure adequate housing for blacks during World War II.

PLEASANT, Mary Ellen (1812-1904) of San Francisco; abolitionist, businesswoman.

Papers, 1884, 1886. 1 foledr.

Includes photocopy of a note from Newton Booth; and a signed check for the Spring Valley Water Works.

An important figure in black California history, Mary Ellen Pleasant traveled to San Francisco in the 1850's and became employed as a housekeeper. An astute businesswoman, she

later established a laundry and several boardinghouses. Booth was one of the many prominent California citizens who boarded at her establishment at 920 Washington Street.

POWELL, Helene (1919-) b. San Jose; union organizer, teacher.

Oral History Interview, 1976-1977, by Lucy Kendall, typed transcript, 163 pages. Indexed.

Transcript of 9½ hours of tape recorded interviews conducted October 1976-January 1977, for the Women in California Collection of the CBS Library.

Powell, a black woman, was a union organizer in the 1940s. The interview covers childhood in San Jose; family life; college years, including her presidency of the Negro Students' Union at the University of California, Berkeley; her first job experience at a warehouse; involvement with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 6, as an organizer, steward, and executive board member.

William A. Leidesdorff, San Francisco's most prominent early black citizen. The Leidesdorff manuscript collection records his diverse activities as businessman, landowner, and U.S. vice-consul.



RANDOLPH, Thomas E. (1820-1901) of Virginia; minister, businessman.

Papers, 1901. 1 folder, photocopy.

Handwritten copy of the obituary for Randolph, from the (*San Francisco Pacific Coast?*) *Appeal*, April 25, 1901.

Randolph, a black resident of Marysville from 1856, was minister of the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church.

REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1856.

Document, 1856. 1 folder, photolithograph.

Handwritten pamphlet by George H. Baker of the Sacramento Republican Party articles of association.

Article 3 refers to the "uncompromising opposition to the extension of slavery."

ROLPH, James (1869-1934), b. San Francisco; mayor of San Francisco, governor of California.

Papers, 1911-1930. 111 boxes and 35 volumes.

Correspondence and papers mainly from his terms as mayor of San Francisco. Collection contains several letters and documents sent by black people to Rolph as mayor.

Colored Men's Non-Partisan League, ALS, September 19, 1911.

Letter written by league secretary William H. Dowell requesting that Rolph meet with the organization; reference made to Dowell's belief that Rolph would assist San Francisco's black population. Rolph's response of September 22, 1911, included. (Letterhead lists officers.)

E. J. Jackson, 2 ALS, January 27, 1912, February 28, 1912.

January 27. Letter from Jackson refers to his application for a position with the supply department of the San Francisco public schools. Mentions his employment in the office of the Secretary of State for twelve years and his activity in Rolph's campaign for mayor; the Colored Workmen's Club; nephew Charles Jamison, President; E. Dennis, Dr. C. A. Griffin, Rev. C. W. H. Nelson. Rolph's response of January 29, 1912, included.

February 28. Letter of recommendation for Jackson from C. F. Curry, Sacramento. "Mr. Jackson took an earnest and active part in your campaign and delivered a number of speeches in your behalf. He is one of the most prominent colored men in California and does not pose as a colored politician."

John H. Taylor, ALS, March 5, 1912.

Letter of recommendation from H. U. Brandenstein,

lawyer, for Taylor who applied for a position as a driver or janitor with the city.

Virginia Stephens, ALS, January 28, 1915.

Letter from the winner of the *San Francisco Call's* contest for the "pet name" of the Panama Pacific International Exposition (Jewel City). Rolph's response of January 30, 1915, included.

Colored Non-Partisan Leagues of California, 2 typed letters signed (TLS), February 6, 1915, March 27, 1915.

Letters written by S. L. Mash, attorney, businessman and president of the leagues. Mash begins both letters with statements about race relations in San Francisco and then presents grievances with overtones of racial harassment. (Letterhead lists names of officers.) Rolph's response of February 9, 1915; response from Chief of Police D. H. White, including officer's report, February 23, 1915.

4 Protest Petitions, March, 1915.

Petitions against the showing of the *Birth of a Nation* (aka *Clansman*) in San Francisco movie theatres. Three petitions with signatures submitted by the "Colored Citizens of San Francisco"; one typed copy of petition submitted by the Negro Welfare League. Names of the committee members of the league given; no signatures.

Garland Anderson, ALS, April 12, 1925.

Letter written from New York City while attempting to raise funds for the production of his play, *Appearances*, the first play written by a black person to open on Broadway (1925). Anderson requests financial support for the play from Rolph. Rolph's response of April 16, 1925, included.

All the photographs are from the CHS Library.

Book Reviews

Drawn from Life: California Indians in Pen and Brush.

By Theodora Kroeber, Albert B. Elsasser, and Robert Heizer. (Socorro, New Mexico: Ballena Press, 1977. 295 pp. Paper \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Lowell J. Bean, *Professor of Anthropology, California State University.*

The publication of *Drawn From Life* provides for the first time the reproduction of many of the remarkable first-hand visual accounts of native Californians from the earliest times that they were observed by Europeans until, and slightly after, the invention of photography. The authors and collectors of these valuable documents are to be congratulated for their painstaking efforts.

The knowledge necessary to draw such a collection comes from Albert Elsasser and Robert Heizer's many years of working with California Indian materials. The accompanying essays draw very much upon the poignant and poetic style of Theodora Kroeber.

The book is arranged regionally, so that a brief sketch of each area precedes the reproduction of many pictures of the area. It is in these essays that the special talents of Theodora Kroeber are readily seen. Readers of her *Almost Ancestors*, jointly authored with Heizer, will recall the style and data of that excellent book. Included in *Drawn From Life* are brief essays about the history and discovery of these pictures, how, when, and under what circumstances they were done, and essays on each of the following regions: the Rio Colorado nations, Tribes of the Southern Missions, Tribes of the Northern Missions, Southern Valley Peoples, Sierra Nevada People, Sierran Mountain Folk, North Coast Range People, Peoples of the Northeast, and Tribes of the Northwest. Notes accompanying many of the pictures comment upon their ethnographic significance or history.

Some aspects of this publication are bothersome. The comments on pictures are a bit thin, the essays on cultural regions a bit oversimplified and romanticized, and the quality of the production of the pictures disappointing. For those that have seen the illustrations in their original contexts, they are sorry representations of the artists' fine work, and they also fail to do justice to native Californians.

This sort of book surely deserved a greater investment by the publisher. Not only are black-and-white pieces poorly represented—fuzzy to the point of a significant loss of detail

—but the marvelous color representations of these artists are completely lost. Even the reproduction of a few of the latter would encourage the reader to search further to explore the artistic significance of the pieces.

Despite these complaints, I recommend the book to anyone interested in native Californians. It provides valuable visual information about many aspects of culture, history, clothing, costume, housing, architecture, settlement patterns, religion, ritual, subsistence, posture, hunting, fishing and gathering techniques, division of labor, and many more odds and ends of ethnographic data, including relationships with non-Indians, Europeans, Chinese, other tribes, and perhaps reactions and adaptations to new and changing conditions.

Man-Made Disaster: The Story of St. Francis Dam.

By Charles F. Outland. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977. 275 pp. \$15.75.)

Reviewed by William Kahrl, *currently a Rockefeller Fellow, preparing an atlas of California's water resources and a new history of the controversy over Los Angeles' water supply in the Owens Valley.*

More books have probably been written about California than any other state in the Union with the exception of Virginia and Massachusetts. And yet, of all the gaps in this considerable bibliography, none is more startling than the paucity of material dealing with the history of water development, which has played the principal role in shaping the patterns of settlement in California and the nature of our lives on the land. For several years, the Arthur H. Clark Company has been working to correct this situation through its Western Lands and Waters Series, succeeding most notably with Robert Kelley's *Gold vs. Grain* and Charles F. Outland's *Man-Made Disaster*. Now, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the collapse of the Saint Francis, Clark has produced a new and substantially revised edition of Outland's masterful history of the night in 1928 when the Santa Clara Valley was covered by a 100-foot wall of moving water.

While San Francisco has turned its earthquake into an apparently unceasing mill of civic pride and commercial profit, the Saint Francis has been pressed into an enforced obscurity. This is remarkable because, while the two were

comparable in terms of their death tolls, the Saint Francis disaster is the more singular event in that it was entirely the result of an act of man. Outland has had to approach his topic almost as an investigative reporter, scaling the barricade thrown up in front of basic records by officials of the two utility companies responsible, and the quality of discovery and indignation at what he has found on the other side lends great force and verve to his narrative.

Owners of the first edition of *Man-Made Disaster*, libraries in particular, will find a new purchase is in order because Outland's new edition has effectively supplanted the first as the definitive work on the subject. The appearance of the first edition in 1963 prompted numerous heretofore unknown eyewitnesses to come forward with a host of new information. As a result, the author reveals in his new work those elements of the story which "he knew to be truth" but which he felt restrained from telling in the first edition by the absence of documented evidence and the threat of libel. With the assistance of this new material (much of which became available through the agency of the *California Historical Quarterly*), Outland is able to demonstrate persuasively that much of the testimony given by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power at the Coroner's Inquest following the disaster was false and directed principally at covering up the failure of the officials involved to spread the alarm early enough to save the lives of the hundreds who perished on that terrible March night. Outland is particularly effective at exploding the claims of the Southern California Edison Company to credit for spreading the alarm by pointing out that the company could scarcely have acted as it claimed when it failed to warn 84 of its own workmen who died downstream more than an hour after the company said it knew the dam had failed.

Although Outland's work is likely to remain the last word on the subject, he makes no claim to presenting the full story, which may never be known. As one of his informants who was on the scene told him: "There are some things we'll never tell." And Outland is not above giving a tug now and then to some of the loose ends of his story. As he recounts the behavior of the responsible officials of Los Angeles on the days preceding the dam's collapse, he seems almost to suggest that they were aware of its weakness but kept silent for some dark purpose of their own. He concludes the book with a list of "Pregnant Questions" which are often tantalizing but in some instances apparently extraneous. Most annoying of all, he continues, as he did in the first edition, to dance

away from the key question of whether the dam was sabotaged. Outland has his own theory for how the dam fell, and he argues it well. But his explanation of the collapse does not preclude the possibility that the structure was dynamited. And, while Outland notes the evidence of sabotage, he does so obliquely, avoiding any conclusions of his own with the extemporaneous excuse that the mood of the public following the disaster precluded any possibility of acceptance of a sabotage theory.

These are small complaints, however, with a book which makes for exciting reading and the best kind of revelatory history.

The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900.

By Richard H. Peterson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. xvi, 191 pp. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Spencer C. Olin, Jr., Professor and Chairperson, Department of History, University of California, Irvine.

This is a narrowly focused, yet thoroughly competent, study of frontier elites, particularly fifty industrial mining entrepreneurs or "bonanza kings." These bonanza kings, according to Richard Peterson, occupied a middle stage between the self-sufficient, independent, itinerant prospectors who dominated the early period of mining and the "large, decentralized, multidivisional corporation of the twentieth century."

The typical mining entrepreneur of the late-nineteenth century was born in the United States to a lower- or middle-class family of British ancestry. He migrated West during the initial rush to the mining regions in the 1850's and 1860's. There he found a frontier region no more tolerant than eastern society, but certainly more open to social ascent and business success. In an attempt to test that portion of the Turner thesis regarding vertical social mobility, Peterson concludes (p. 4) that "the relatively poor immigrant had a somewhat better chance of becoming a leading industrialist on the mining frontier than in the more established sections of the country."

While noting this alleged difference, Peterson also demon-

strates certain similarities between the ethnic and regional backgrounds of western mining entrepreneurs and national business elites. Furthermore, these bonanza kings were faced with problems very much like those confronted by their industrial counterparts in the East: a limited amount of available capital; a need for technological training and expertise; the acquisition of properties; the hiring and control of a labor force; and the pressures favoring corporate consolidation and vertical integration. The methods by which these problems were dealt with form the core of *The Bonanza Kings*.

Peterson's organizational framework and clarity of presentation are deserving of praise. Without a doubt, his book is a most useful addition to entrepreneurial history. And yet certain characteristics of his analysis cause me to have reservations about some of the conclusions offered.

One of these conclusions is that in their business and social behavior "western mining entrepreneurs apparently had more in common with eastern industrialists than with such frontier types as the prospector. . . ." (p. 143). Based on the evidence presented, I have no qualms about this assertion. But its larger implications are not addressed by Peterson, who draws overly sanguine conclusions regarding the "democratic" nature of the mining frontier and its generally "accommodating" and "benevolent" labor-management relations. Part of the difficulty is that Peterson's definition of "class" is obscure, though it appears that he views income and status as the most significant determinants of social stratification. (In fact, the terms "class" and "status" are used synonymously in the chapter on "Social Mobility on the Mining Frontier.") These mining entrepreneurs may have come from modest social origins, but the point is that they soon transcended these class origins and acquired a position of economic dominance closely resembling that of more wealthy business elites elsewhere. They thus helped create a new economic and social reality in which the same principle was operative as in the more advanced industrial regions: namely, that ownership and control of the essential means of production dictate power relationships among classes. This is more significant, in my opinion, than whether some bonanza kings were harsh toward their workers and most were not.

Another limitation of Peterson's analysis is suggested by his omission of politics, which he seems to consider as being autonomous from economic activity. The "alliances" he discusses in Chapter Six are *business* alliances, largely between bonanza kings and technicians. By focusing almost solely on

managerial policies, Peterson may have missed a fine opportunity to demonstrate the ways in which this particular business elite manipulated the political system for its own ends.

Los Angeles: Biography of a City.

Edited by John and La Ree Caughey. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 509 pp. Cloth \$14.95, paper \$6.95.)

Brand Book XV.

Edited by Anthony L. Lehman. (Los Angeles: The Westerners Corral, 1977. 247 pp. \$25.00.)

Reviewed by Andrew Rolle, author of California: A History (third edition, 1978) and Cleland Professor of History, Occidental College.

Los Angeles—what is it? "Prototypical metropolis of the future," "Double-Dubuque," or "the retreat of all failures"? Sinclair Lewis and W. C. Fields, who held such acerbic opinions about "L.A.", were preceded and followed by so many other critics that W. W. Robinson wrote a book almost forty years ago entitled *What They Say About the Angels* (1942). The city's chroniclers have included professionally-trained historians and amateurs: Newmark, Willard, Carr, McGroarty, McWilliams, Nadeau, Dumke, Lillard, Fogelson, Weaver, and Shevsky. There have also been the more shallow debunkers, Lurie and Rand.

Is "L.A." "a group of suburbs in search of a city"? The expansion of its Balkanized outskirts from rancho past into the smog-bound present remains confusing to any one interpreter. The relationship of the important suburb called Hollywood (a sheep camp turned Shangri-la) to Southern California is still not understood. Hollywood is a state of mind as much as its parent, Los Angeles, is "The Nowhere City."

Here are two books by many authors centered upon this Lotus Land of the Far West which, along with its hinterland, has defied any one historian to produce a definitive history. The Caughey anthology (their second to date) represents the work of over one-hundred contributors. Some fifteen other enthusiasts put together the latest *Brand Book* of the Westerners' Los Angeles "corral."

The essays in this latter volume are of desirable quality, especially those by its scholar-contributors. Among these are the writings of two women professionals, Gloria Ricci Lothrop and Jo Beth Jacobs. They are joined by Ray Allen Billington, who writes here about one of his favorite topics, Frederick Jackson Turner. Notable also is the excellent piece by Tom McNeill about the artist Duncan Gleason and Abraham Hoffman's work on the Owens Valley aqueduct. Other essays (that of Richard F. Pourade, for example) require documentation via footnoting. Like *festschriften*, designed to honor specific persons, these *Brand Books* published by various "corrals" throughout the American West are rather miscellaneous and without much sense of organization

or theme. They are often the work of local history buffs. This particular publication, however, appears to transcend the minutiae that clog the work of the undisciplined amateur; the result is a hearty little volume that ranges more widely than the Caughey anthology.

The organization of the hundred-plus essays in *Los Angeles: Biography of a City* proved difficult for its editors to unify. The development of the city has, in large measure, been that of Southern California. Its complex growth in population, as well as in economic and political power, has given Los Angeles the character of a city-state, one that is geographically larger than that of whole countries and of some American states. This anthology sets itself the task of encompassing



The recreational possibilities of the Southern California shoreline lured countless landlocked Americans westward to the Los Angeles basin.

this panoramic development from the Indian origins into the present and future. The editors (who have become California's most practiced "anthologizers") interweave a commentary that holds together the almost two hundred years of history which the book reflects. La Ree Caughey herself has contributed an original essay entitled "The Long Beach Earthquake." One can also find in the book some poetry about the San Gabriel Mountains written by Robinson Jeffers (as a result of hikes taken when he was a student at Occidental College), and miscellaneous essays on the real estate boom of 1887, the health rush to Southern California, and a description of the Watts Towers.

Behind all this scenery there remains a megalopolis whose original cultural shallowness and farm-born orthodoxy gave way to a baffling and powerful new status born of twentieth-century prosperity. Both of these explanatory volumes are contributions, beyond the level of fact-gathering, toward the future model history of Southern California that may one day emerge.

Defending Eden: New Mexican Pioneers in Southern California, 1830-1890.

By Joyce Carter Vickery. (Riverside: Department of History, University of California, Riverside, and the Riverside Museum Press, 1977. x, 130 pp. \$5.36.)

Reviewed by Leonard Pitt, Professor of History, California State University, Northridge, and author of We Americans: A Topical History of the United States.

This work is not a full-blown monograph, but, rather, a curator's interpretation of her artifacts. It grew out of an exhibit at the Riverside Municipal Museum concerning a small but distinctive area of the San Bernardino Valley. Still, *Defending Eden* is far more than a museum brochure; it is a valuable foray into community and ethnic history.

The place described here is San Salvador—comprising the villages of Agua Mansa and La Placita—which straddled the Santa Ana River north of Riverside in the late Mexican and early Yankee eras. In its heyday around 1860, San Salvador held 600 or so inhabitants.

What made San Salvador distinctive is that most of its inhabitants were *Genizaros* who hailed from Santa Fe, New

Mexico. The *Genizaros* were Hispanicized Pueblo Indians (and a few Comanches) who, because of their long association with the Spaniards and Mexicans, could no longer live in their traditional Native American communities. Wary of battling neighboring Indians and scrubbing on poorly watered farm land, they decided to move to California. The mastermind of the move seems to have been Lorenzo Trujillo, who in 1843 organized a trek along the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe through Cajon Pass and into the San Bernardino region. There the New Mexicans arranged a shrewd deal with members of the Lugo family and B. D. Wilson whereby they received land in exchange for a promise to protect the valley from Indian and other marauders who periodically swept through the ranchos to steal cattle and other property.

Although on more than one occasion they had to redeem their pledge to battle interlopers, they settled into a quiet daily existence based chiefly on farming and ranching. They worked their land partly on a communal basis, which was rare in Southern California. They became well known locally for their "belief in the values of personal responsibility, business initiative, hospitality, and courage, combined with a strong loyalty to family and Church." Also scattered among them were Anglo-American, French, Danish, and Sonoran Mexican settlers.

Starting in the 1860's, their lives were marked by a series of natural and social disasters. In rapid succession they faced a raging flood, a small-pox epidemic, a two-year drought, costly land litigation, double-dealing by the Lugo family, thievery by Anglos, and the enforcement of a California fence law that sharply curtailed their cattle grazing activities. Through much of this they persevered, yet eventually their way of life was undermined.

The book is enhanced by a lucid writing style—as well as by photos, sketches, and maps. One map locates the place of origin of the New Mexicans as well as their place of settlement, while another depicts some of the main landmarks of La Placita and Agua Mansa as they appeared in 1900. A weakness, though, is the absence of a map showing in detail the location of San Salvador in relation to today's Riverside and Colton.

The author supplies footnotes and bibliography and "A Note on Sources for Future Research." She demurs that her list of works is incomplete, yet it is a fair guess that she mentions or uses most if not all of the extant materials on San Salvador.

This California surveyor, R. C. Mathevson of San Francisco, was issued a patent in 1858 for his transit instrument which measured horizontal angles.

Vickery's work takes its place alongside the recent dissertations by Richard Griswold del Castillo concerning the Chicano barrio of Los Angeles in the nineteenth century and that of Albert Camarillo concerning the barrio of Santa Barbara. These and other works illuminate the processes of culture conflict, acculturation, and ethnic survival that greatly affected the Spanish speaking at the end of the pastoral and the beginning of the urban-industrial era. From this we may conclude that the field of ethnic and community studies concerning Spanish-speaking Californians is in a healthy condition.

Chaining the Land. A History of Surveying in California.

By François D. Uzes. (Sacramento: Landmark Enterprises, 1977. 131 pages. \$17.50.)

Reviewed by Curtis M. Brown, licensed land surveyor, now retired, who has written many articles and several books on boundary control and location.

François D. Uzes' book, *Chaining the Land*, digs deeply into the major land surveys occurring in California, including the people, the instruments available, and the quality of the work. Land surveyors depend upon a particular segment of history, more so than other professions, in the performance of their calling. According to common law, the resurveyor must relocate property lines as nearly as possible in the position as marked by the original surveyor. In making retracement surveys, the old axiom "retracing the footsteps of the original surveyor" can best be done with knowledge of the original surveyor, his abilities, instruments, hardships, dedication, reputation, and the directions under which he worked. Not all original surveys were honestly performed. Cognizance of fraudulent public land surveys helps the surveyor in knowing which corners may never have been set.

The first chapter describes many of the instruments available during the time most of the early boundary surveys of California were made. The research is comprehensive, the illustrations excellent, and the comments on attainable accuracy disclose wisdom in surveying technology. Chapter two on early surveys introduces a few examples of land sur-



veys occurring in major populated areas. Chapter three on state boundaries reviews the history of the various surveys of California's boundaries (Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, and Mexico) and discloses some errors occurring in them. The Nevada-California boundary has been in dispute for some time, and, at the present, California has petitioned the federal supreme court to establish the line. Persons interested in the issues in the case will find that this book has a wealth of factual background information on the early Von Schmidt and other surveys, with errors disclosed.

Chapter four on surveys of state-owned wetlands includes tidelands, swamp and overflow lands, and river beds, along with a description of the difficulty of locating these migratory

boundaries. A chapter on federal land surveys is very brief, and one on fraudulent surveys exposes the land grabbing of the so-called Benson Syndicate. The naming of the Benson surveyors and the location of the fictitious surveys is particularly beneficial to licensed land surveyors. A final chapter pertains to surveyor licensing laws. The remainder of the book (102 pages) is devoted to appendices containing related factual information, such as a list of all licensed land surveyors between 1893 and 1930, special instructions issued by the U.S. Surveyor General to deputies, circulars to county surveyors, notes on California boundaries, and the testing of instruments.

Mr. Uzes is the head of the State Boundary Determination Unit of the California State Lands Division. He has testified in many court cases and is well qualified by his knowledge to be historically accurate. Bibliographies at the end of each chapter contain the sources of information. The book is recommended reading for those practicing land surveying and those historians wanting to know about the source of the state's land titles.

Collecting Local History.

By Bay Area Reference Center, San Francisco Public Library. (San Francisco: San Francisco Public Library, 1977. 40 pp. Free.)

Reviewed by Daniel E. Weinberg, Associate Professor of History, San Diego State University.

The goal of the Bay Area Reference Center's workshop held on March 16 and 17, 1977, an event which was funded by the United States Office of Education, was to "provide information that would help librarians in Northern California understand the processes involved in collecting local history and oral history." The emphases of the papers presented at the conference and collected in this booklet are: the character and historical value of ephemera, newspapers, and oral resources; preservation and organization of archive-type materials; and selected local history collections. The nine appendices included in the publication range in character from sample catalogue forms to bibliography on oral history and the care of photographs to a selective guide for collect-

ing and research in local history. Apparently transcribed from tapes of the speeches, it is unedited and printed by mimeograph off stencils.

While the workshop's organizers may have succeeded in showing those attending "how-to-do-it," anyone reading the proceedings will find little help in the very brief presentations by the source persons. The booklet's best sections are the keynote address by Richard H. Dillon, Librarian of the Sutro Library, and the appendices. Dillon's remarks extended the significance of local history beyond its traditional parochial limits. His concerns for selectivity, the definition of this kind of local study, and its relationship to understanding the development of American society generally need to become those of librarians and researchers alike. The BARC would have done well to send his speech in advance to the other participants.

The value of these proceedings is itself as local history. Part of the revived national interest in community and genealogical history, it documents the Bay Area's efforts to communicate the importance of local history collecting and study. The workshop's speakers presented information that, by now, ought to have been very familiar to the audience. Those looking for new or innovative ideas will be disappointed. Nevertheless, the commitment to upgrade local history is clear and is a worthwhile discovery about the growth of local history in the Bay Area.

All the photographs are from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Joan Alpert

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1977-78) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Adams, Ramon F. *The Language of the Railroad*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, \$9.95 + 40¢. Publisher, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman 73019.
- Aiello, George and Jo Ann. *The Land of Glittering Dreams*. Photographs. Authors, P. O. Box 23593, Pleasant Hill 94523.
- Anderson, George E., W. H. Ellison and Robert F. Heizer. *Treaty Making and Treaty Rejection by the Federal Government in California, 1850-1852*. Socorro, New Mexico: Ballena Press, 1977. 124 pp. \$5.95. Publisher, P. O. Box 1366, Socorro, 87801.
- Baur, John E. *Growing Up With California: A History of California's Children*. Los Angeles: Will Kramer, 1978. Publisher, 3111 Kelton Ave., Los Angeles 90034.
- Bean, Walton. *California: An Interpretive History*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978. 501 pp.
- Beard, Yolande S. *The Wappo: A Report*. St. Helena: By the author, 1977. 79 pp.
- Benhard, Hans and Colleen Redpath. *Valley Profiles: A Photographic Essay on the Livermore Valley of California*. Limited ed. Livermore: Old October Book Publishers, 1977. 72 pp. \$16.50.
- Benson, Robert. *Great Winemakers of California: Conversations With Robert Benson*. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1977. 303 pp.
- Blessing, Patrick Joseph. *West Among Strangers: Irish Migration to California, 1850 to 1880*. 1977.
- Brett, Bill. *The Stolen Steers: A Tale of the Big Thicket*. Texas A & M University Press, 1977. 116 pp. \$6.75. Holmes Book Company, P. O. Box 858, Oakland 94604.
- Brooks, George R. *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1977. 259 pp. \$24.50. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale 91209.
- Clewell, C. William (ed.). *Four Rock Art Studies*. Socorro, New Mexico: Ballena Press, 1978. 108 pp. \$5.95. Publisher, P. O. Box 1366, Socorro 87801.
- Clough, F. S. *The House at Fifth and Salem*. Chico: Quad-co Printing, 1978. 116 pp. \$7.50. Author, 197 W. Trinity Road, Glen Ellen 95442.
- Cohan, Tony and Gordon Bean (eds.). *Outlaw Visions*. Los Angeles: Acrobat Books, 1977. 192 pp.
- Cronkhite, Daniel. *Death Valley's Victims: A Descriptive Chronology, 1849-1977*. Sagebrush Press, 1977. 54 pp. \$15.75. Holmes Book Company, Oakland 94604.
- Delehanty, Randolph. *Victorian Sampler: A Walk in Pacific Heights and the Haas Lilienthal House*. San Francisco: The Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, 1978.
- Delgado, James P. and Christopher C. Wade. *How California Adobes Were Built in the 1830's: A Simple Guide to a Lost Art*. San Jose: 1978. 9 pp. \$2.00. Authors, 2835 Van Ness Ave., #3, San Francisco 94109.
- DeMers, Donald O. *Santa Clara Valley: Images of the Past*. San Jose: San Jose Historical Museum Association, 1977.
- Dillon, Richard H. *The Hatchet Men: San Francisco's Brotherhood of Blood*. Comstock Editions, 1977. 270 pp. \$2.50. Holmes Book Company, P. O. Box 858, Oakland 94604.
- Dwinelle, John W. *The Colonial History of San Francisco*. Reprint of 1867 edition. Kentfield: Ross Valley Book Co., 1978. 398 pp. \$10.00. Publisher, P. O. Box 415, Kentfield 94904.
- Easton, Robert. *Guns, Gold and Caravans: The Extraordinary Life and Times of Fred Meyer Schroder . . .* Capra Press, 1978. 256 pp. \$11.95. Robert Sheldon, (805) 966-4590.
- Engels, Albert. *Gold Mines of Southern California*. Denver, Colo.: Argonaut Enterprises, 1977. 200 pp.
- Fischer, Christiana (ed.). *Let Them Speak for Themselves: Women in the American West, 1849-1900*. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1977. 346 pp. \$15.00.
- Fisher, Raymond H. *Bering's Voyages: Whither and Why*. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1978. 230 pp. \$17.95. Publisher, Seattle 98105.
- Ford, Robert S. *Red Trains in the East Bay: The History of the Southern Pacific Transbay Train and Ferry System*. Interurbans Publications, 1977. 351 pp.
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- Hardy, Robert William Hale. *Travels in the Interior of Mexico in 1825, 1826, 1827 & 1828*. Reprint of 1829 edition. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, 1977. 557 pp.
- Heizer, Robert F. *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 8, California*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978. 800 pp. \$13.50. Stock No. 047-000-00347, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington D. C. 20402.
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- Hunter, Jim. *Offbeat Baja*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1977. 156 pp.
- Issei Christians: *Selected Interviews From the Issei Oral History Project*. The Sierra Mission Area, Synod of the Pacific, United Presbyterian Church, 1977. Argus Books, 2741 Riverside Blvd., Sacramento 95818.
- King, David C. et al. *Windows on California*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978. 80 pp. With Teachers Guide.
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- MacGregor, Bruce A. and Ted Benson. *Portrait of a Silver Lady: The Train They Called the California Zephyr*. Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1977. 357 pp.
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- Martin, Wallace E. *Waterfront Yarns of Humboldt Bay From the Era of Wooden Ships to Iron Men*. Eureka: Lambert & McKeehan, 1977. 26 pp.
- Mathes, W. Michael. *Cattle Brands of Baja California Sur, 1809-1885*. Los Angeles: Archivo Historico de Baja California Sur. In English and Spanish. 78 pp. \$18.00. Dawson's Book Shop, 535 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 90004.
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- Merenbach, Nathan. *Grampa: The Autobiography of Nathan Merenbach*. San Francisco: Artel Graphic Arts, 1977. 178 pp. \$8.65.
- Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2911 Russell Street, Berkeley 94705.
- Modell, John. *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1977. 201 pp. \$10.00.
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- Peterson, Robert M. *A Case Study of a Northern California Indian Tribe: Cultural Change to 1860*. San Francisco: R. & E Research Associates, 1977. 102 pp.
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- Rather, Lois. *Henry George: Printer to Author*. Oakland: The Rather Press, 1978. 89 pp. \$20.00 + \$1.30. Publisher, 3200 Guido Street, Oakland 94602.
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- Rife, Joanne. *Where the Light Turns Gold: The Story of the Santa Inez Valley*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1977. 167 pp.
- Rogus, Spencer Lee. *The Stature of Early Southern California Indian Populations*. San Diego: Museum of Man, 1977. 27 pp.
- Shasky, Florian J. and Susan F. Riggs. *Letters to Elizabeth*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1977. 120 pp. \$40.00 + tax. Publisher, 545 Sutter St., Room 202, San Francisco 94102.
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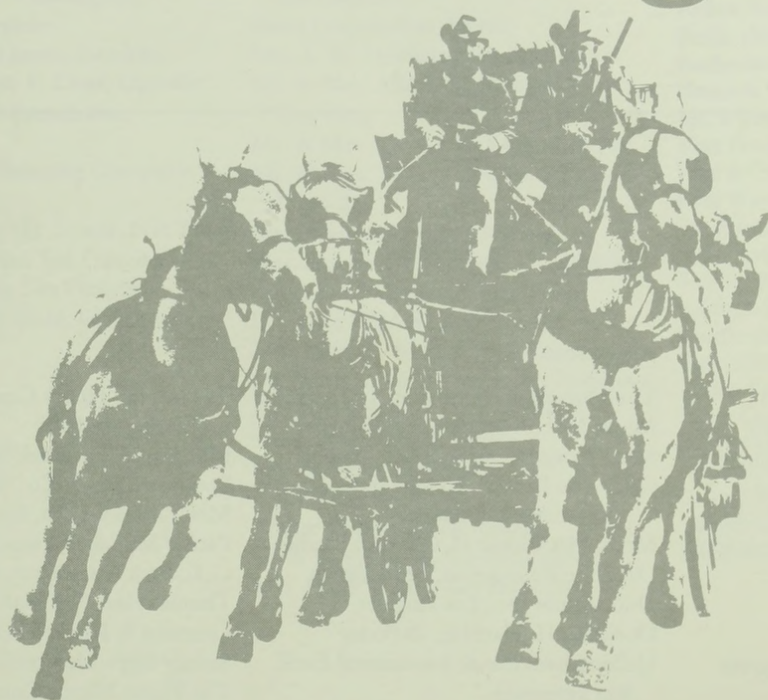
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Joseph S. O'Flaherty

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The Magazine of the California Historical Society

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COVER

Finding shelter from the wind off the ocean, two ladies in Sunday finery at the turn of the century munch boxes of Cracker Jacks in the dunes along San Francisco's Great Highway south of Irving Street. Barely visible across the roadway is Carville, a community of beach hideaways and club houses created by converting the city's outmoded horsecars into modular shelters. The story of this short-lived oceanside community begins on page 308. *CHS Library*.

California History

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Shadows in St. James Park

The month of November, 1933, began peacefully in San Jose. With 82,000 residents, forty-six churches, twenty-nine schools, and seven well-kept parks, the Santa Clara Valley city was a handsome, comfortable town which well deserved its sobriquet, "The Garden City." The economic pressures of the Great Depression had been felt in San Jose in 1933, but, in spite of the hardships suffered by many of its citizens, the city was remarkably prosperous. As the commercial center of a four-county trading area, it had nearly 400 business establishments which, between them, employed 12,000 men and 8,000 women. Three-quarters of its nearly 20,000 homes were owner-occupied, and assessed property values totaled nearly \$50,000,000.¹ Eighty-three years earlier, in 1850, San Jose had served as capital of the State of California, a distinction it soon lost to Vallejo, Benicia, and, finally, Sacramento. But in 1933 it was still the administrative seat of Santa Clara County and, as such, a civic and governmental center of importance. County government centered on the wooded expanse of St. James Park, where a columned courthouse looked down on acres of elms and palms and a heroic bronze statue of the assassinated President William McKinley. The courthouse, which faced the First Street side of the park, was flanked by the stone Hall of Records and the rising walls of the new United States Post Office, under construction. Behind the Hall of Records was the Hall of Justice, and, between it and the courthouse, the Santa Clara County Jail.²

On busy afternoons, when shiny motorcars crowded nearby Santa Clara Street and pedestrians paused to gaze in the windows of Hart's Department Store, the quiet of St. James Park was broken only by the voices of playing children or the occasional barking of dogs. On Sunday mornings, the park was no quieter than on week-

Mr. McGinty is an attorney and writer whose work has appeared in numerous popular magazines and scholarly journals, including the *California Historical Quarterly*. His most recent book is *The Palace Inns: A Connoisseur's Guide to Historic American Hotels*.

days, but on that day a reverent air fell over its trees as bells summoned worshippers to the shadowy nave of Trinity Episcopal Church, which stood opposite the south side of the park. In all, San Jose was a model of middle-American respectability—hardly a likely setting for one of the most turbulent dramas ever to rock California and the West.

Hart's Department Store, situated at the southeast corner of West Santa Clara and Market streets, had begun in the 1880's as a small dry goods and clothing store.³ By 1933, it had grown into one of the city's two largest department stores. Alex Hart, president of the store, lived with his wife and four children in a handsome home on The Alameda, a fashionable residential thoroughfare on the west side of town.⁴ The white columned house, which stood at the head of a broad lawn, was described by many in town as a mansion. Certainly the Harts were among San Jose's wealthiest families, with extensive investments in local business. Brooke Hart, eldest of Alex and Nettie Hart's two sons, was a fair-haired young man of twenty-two who had recently graduated from the University of Santa Clara. In September, Brooke had been made a vice-president in his father's firm, and the event had been celebrated with a festive banquet at the De Anza Hotel.⁵ The Harts were a Jewish family, but they seemed to be well-accepted by their predominantly Protestant neighbors. At the Jesuit University of Santa Clara, Brooke had won the friendship of many students and the admiration of several professors. Alex Hart had not learned to operate an automobile, but Brooke was a skillful driver who loved to pilot his sleek Studebaker roadster between the family home on The Alameda and the store on West Santa Clara.

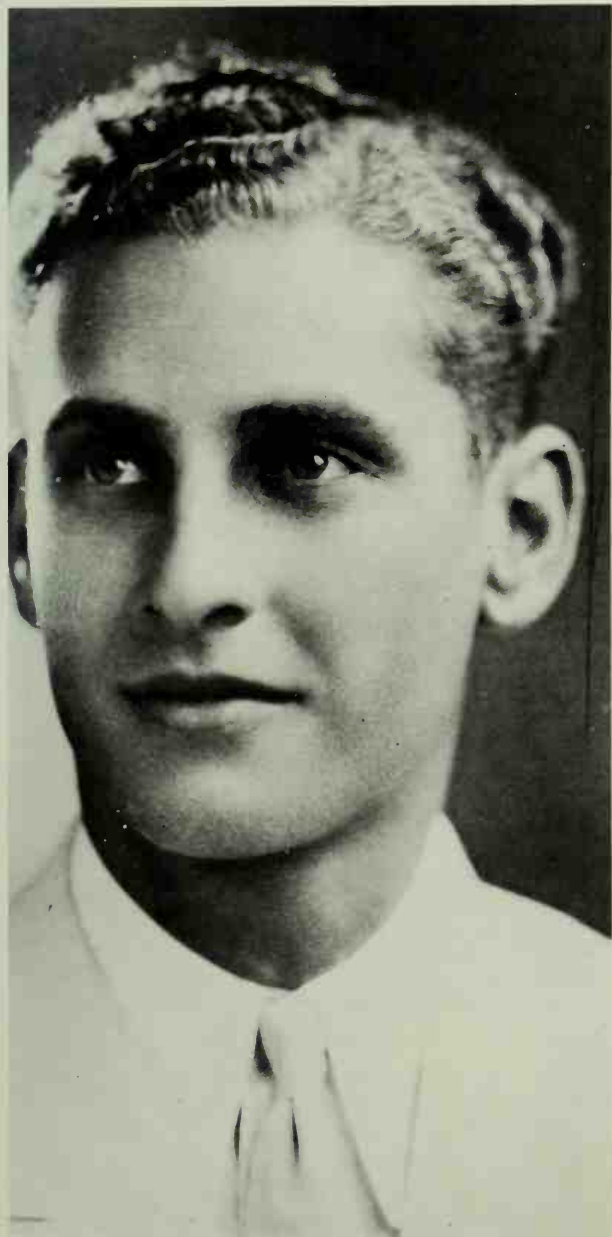
Brooke Hart was behind the wheel of his car in the early evening of Thursday, November 9. He had left the store about five minutes before six, walked a block to a parking lot at Market and Post streets, then slipped behind the wheel of his car. At the store, Alex Hart waited for his son, who was to pick him up and drive

him to a Chamber of Commerce dinner.⁶ When several minutes passed and Brooke did not appear, the elder Hart became alarmed. A search of the parking lot revealed that the Studebaker was gone, and neither the vehicle nor its driver was anywhere in sight. The police were notified, then the sheriff, and soon a search was under way. At home, Alex and Nettie Hart waited anxiously for news. By 10:30 P.M. they received a telephone call from an unknown man who said Brooke had been kidnapped and was being held for \$40,000 ransom. The caller promised to be in touch with the Harts in the near future to advise how the ransom was to be paid.⁷

A short time after midnight, the kidnap victim's roadster was found abandoned on Evans Road near the town of Milpitas, about seven miles north of San Jose. A local rancher said he had seen the car parked near his place since about seven in the evening.⁸

Another telephone call was received by the family on Friday. Thereafter, scores of obviously spurious ransom demands were received at the Hart home. One message, a crudely written post card mailed from Sacramento, attracted the attention of the police. It told Hart to place a card bearing the numeral "1" in his store window to signify his willingness to negotiate for his son's release. When the window card was posted, another message was received, asking that a similar card with the number "2" be displayed as evidence of the father's willingness to pay the ransom.⁹ On November 11, the victim's wallet was found lodged on the guard rail of an oil tanker in San Francisco, raising suspicions he may have been taken aboard a ship.¹⁰ The following day, the liner *Lurline*, which had just left San Francisco, was searched in Los Angeles, but it produced no evidence of the missing man.¹¹ In the meantime, the Hart store and home in San Jose were the scenes of intensive undercover police activity. Federal Justice Department agents from San Francisco and Kansas City joined with San Jose Police Chief J. N. Black and Santa Clara County Sheriff

Brooke Hart, heir to San Jose's largest department store, was twenty-two years old when he was kidnapped and brutally murdered.



William J. Emig to investigate the crime. The house and store were closely watched, and incoming phone calls were traced. About 7:30 P.M. on November 15, six days after the kidnapping, the phone rang at the Hart home. Answering, Alex Hart listened as a male voice began to give instructions for payment of the ransom. The call was quickly traced to a public phone in a garage on San Jose's South Market Street. Notified that a call was being made, Sheriff Emig immediately set out for the garage. The conversation was still in progress as Emig entered the building and, with the help of two deputies, took the caller into custody.¹²

The suspect was a thin man with hollow cheeks and dark, curly hair—about twenty-eight years of age. His name was Thomas Harold Thurmond, and he was a resident of the Campbell district of San Jose. Thurmond was a member of a respectable local family. One of his sisters was organist in the Methodist Church, another a local bookkeeper, and a third the wife of a public school principal. A brother, the Reverend R. J. Thurmond, was pastor of the Church of God in the Sacramento Valley town of Chico.¹³ A house painter by trade, Thurmond was currently unemployed.¹⁴ Professing shock at his arrest, the suspect denied any knowledge of the kidnapping and insisted that, as a good church-goer, he would never have had anything to do with such a crime. The sheriff was not convinced. Thurmond was taken to the county jail, where lights burned late into the night. At 3:30 A.M., Thurmond and a squad of officers left the jail and drove to the nearby Californian Hotel, where they quickly went to a third-floor bedroom occupied by a husky six-footer named John Maurice Holmes. Holmes was arrested and taken to the jail where, like Thurmond, he was subjected to questioning.

In a statement released to the press the following day, Sheriff Emig stated that Thurmond had been questioned for six hours. "Like most criminals," the sheriff said, "he soon grew entangled in his story. Finally he confessed and named Holmes as his accomplice."¹⁵



Accused kidnappers Thomas Harold Thurmond (top) and John Holmes (bottom) were temporarily removed to the San Francisco jail in the company of Santa Clara County Sheriff William J. Emig (dark suit) and US Justice Department Agent Reed Vetterli (light suit) when rumors of a lynching began circulating in San Jose.



Holmes was not as willing to admit guilt as Thurmond. All through the night, he maintained his innocence. Reed Vetterli, chief San Francisco agent of the Department of Justice, told reporters that Holmes was "perfectly cool and self-possessed" after his capture and repeatedly denied that he had taken any part in the Hart kidnapping. Thurmond was brought into the same room with Holmes to reveal that he had "confessed everything." Holmes still denied knowledge of the crime and said that if the police already "knew everything," there was nothing for him to say. "He was adamant," Vetterli continued. "We couldn't shake him. He ate a good breakfast. He whistled when we left him alone. We told him of a murder charge in the offing, that lynching was threatened. Then, for the first time, he appeared to worry, and said he'd been having family trouble, all over another woman."¹⁶

Talk of possible mob action against the prisoners was rife in San Jose, where news of the arrests had spread rapidly. Concerned for his captives' safety, Sheriff Enig announced plans to move them to the city prison in San Francisco. On the way north, Holmes was taken across the Hayward-San Mateo Bridge and asked "where he'd tossed the body." According to Vetterli, he met the question "with a sally." "But," the agent continued, "from the moment he entered the Potrero police station he began to wilt, until finally he said he was willing to talk."¹⁷

Popular concern about kidnapping was already at a fever pitch, fanned by a wave of highly publicized abductions and ransom demands that had recently swept across the country. The recent kidnapping of Charles Lindbergh, Jr., infant son of the celebrated transatlantic aviator, had been the most sensational case, but it was far from the only one. In 1931, a total of 279 kidnappings were reported in the United States.¹⁸ Police estimated that there had been 200 kidnappings in Chicago in the two years preceding 1932 and that ransoms paid had amounted to \$2,000,000.¹⁹ The Lindbergh baby was

abducted on March 1, 1932. Though the man responsible for the crime had not yet been apprehended,²⁰ it was known that the child was dead before the ransom was paid, and the grisly fact had shocked the nation. In response to the Lindbergh case and other kidnappings, Congress and many state legislatures had moved to strengthen kidnapping statutes by increasing penalties and granting federal authorities broad investigative authority.²¹ But the legislative action did not still public clamor for an immediate end to the wave of terror. Nor did the abduction of Brooke Hart in San Jose do anything to calm the growing storm of outrage.

From the morning of November 10, newspapers throughout California had been full of the story. Following Holmes and Thurmond's arrests, coverage became even more intense. Correspondents from San Francisco and Los Angeles, and some from as far away as New York, descended on San Jose to search for details of the story. Full texts of typewritten confessions signed by Thurmond and Holmes were released to reporters on November 16. As soon as they could be rushed to editors' desks, verbatim transcripts were set into print. In quick succession, they appeared on the front pages of the *San Jose Mercury Herald*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.²²

Readers were shocked by the macabre details of the crime. According to the confessions, Thurmond and Holmes had talked about the kidnapping for several days before it was carried out. Together, they had waited outside Hart's Department Store for Brooke Hart to come for his car on November 9. Holmes had approached the roadster at the entrance to the parking lot and, holding a gun in his pocket, opened the door of the car and stepped inside. Thurmond followed in another car, as Holmes forced young Hart to drive north to Milpitas. They stopped on Evans Road, where Hart was moved from his own car into that driven by Thurmond. The three then continued north to the town of Mt. Eden, from which they proceeded westward across the

Hayward-San Mateo Bridge—a long, narrow span that traversed the southern end of San Francisco Bay. Hart was told to hand over his wallet, and the kidnappers divided the money. At about midspan, they stopped their car and forced the victim to step out. A pillow case covered his head, and heavy cement blocks were bound to his chest and limbs with baling wire. When Hart began to shout for help, he was struck in the head and knocked to the pavement. His body was then hurled over the side of the bridge and into the bay. Thinking he heard a “gurgling noise,” Thurmond climbed over the rail and fired some shots into the water. The deed done, the pair returned to San Jose. While Holmes went home, Thurmond drove to San Francisco where, at 10:30 P.M., he placed the first telephone call to the Hart home. Later, on the San Francisco waterfront, he hurled the victim’s wallet into the bay.

Residents of San Jose were dumbfounded. So far as the authorities knew, neither Thurmond nor Holmes had any previous criminal records, and both were members of respectable families.²³ While Thurmond’s minister-brother hurried from Chico to San Jose, Holmes’ father met with reporters. He could not believe his son had committed the crime, he said. He had always been a good boy and a hard worker. At seven o’clock on the night of the Hart kidnapping, Mr. and Mrs. Holmes had visited their son at his home in San Jose. Their daughter-in-law helped Mrs. Holmes fit a dress, and their son “wasn’t under any strain.” “I’m his mother,” Mrs. Holmes said, “and I would know if there was anything wrong with him, which there wasn’t.”²⁴ Mrs. Gertrude Estensen, a young San Jose housewife and a friend of the younger Holmes couple, said that, late the same evening, she and her husband had gone to a movie with Holmes and his wife. Holmes had called at their house at four in the afternoon to make the movie date, and he had returned with Mrs. Holmes between 7:30 and 8:00 to accompany them to the theater. Holmes had been calm and had “joined as heartily as anyone in

the laughter over the antics of *The Three Little Pigs*.”²⁵

Meanwhile, two men who had been collecting driftwood in a boat on the bay told officers that at about 7:25 P.M. on the night of the kidnapping they heard cries for help on the Hayward-San Mateo Bridge and, later, in the water. They rushed to the spot as quickly as possible, but could see nothing.²⁶

Sheriff Emig dismissed Mrs. Estensen’s story as an attempt by Holmes to manufacture an alibi for his crime,²⁷ but he did not comment on the stories of the prisoner’s parents, or on the apparent fact that the testimony of seven witnesses—perhaps more—seemed to contradict Holmes’ “confession.” Three people claimed they had been with the accused kidnapper at the movie on the fatal night; his mother and father, his two children, his wife—and probably his wife’s mother—had seen him at home in San Jose at about seven o’clock; the wood collectors established the probable time of the Hart murder at 7:25 P.M. How could Holmes have participated in a crime on the Hayward-San Mateo Bridge—a crime which would have required a drive of seventy miles, round trip—at the same time that he was seen at his home in San Jose?

Newspaper reporters seemed not to be concerned with such questions. The kidnapping story was good for circulation—one of the best the California press had seen in many years. From his jail cell in San Francisco, Thurmond revealed additional details of the crime, which the newspapers printed eagerly. Holmes refused to talk. Meanwhile, an army of eager searchers combed the lower bay for clues to the missing body. On November 16, a cement block and some strands of wire were discovered near the bridge.²⁸ Two more blocks were found the following day, and a scrap of cloth believed to have been torn from the victim’s shirt. On Sunday, No-

vember 19, the hat worn by young Hart on the fatal day was found floating near the eastern shore of the bay. Alameda County District Attorney Earl Warren, alerted that a murder may have been committed in his jurisdiction, ordered creation of a regional kidnapping squad for Alameda County.²⁹ The district attorney in San Jose, Fred Thomas, announced that a new amendment to the California Penal Code imposed a more severe penalty for kidnapping than for murder. The amendment, which became effective in October, 1933, provided that anyone convicted of kidnapping with bodily harm would be sentenced to death, or, in the jury's discretion, condemned to life imprisonment without possibility of parole.³⁰ District Attorney Thomas was confident that Thurmond and Holmes would be tried in San Jose under the stiff provisions of the new kidnapping law.

On Sunday, church pastors throughout San Jose prayed for the missing victim and, from their pulpits, urged that those responsible for his disappearance be punished swiftly and severely.³¹ From Sacramento, Governor James Rolph, Jr., sent a message of sympathy to the missing boy's parents. In San Francisco, angry crowds gathered on Market Street in front of the Justice Department offices where Thurmond and Holmes were being questioned—shouting "Lynch 'em! Lynch 'em!"³² On November 18, the *Chronicle* published a front-page editorial, declaring in bold type:

There is only one thing to do with the murderers of Brooke Hart.

That is to hang them, legally but promptly. The forms of the law must be followed, but in this case they are only forms.

The guilt of the culprits is unquestioned. They have confessed. There is no defense or mitigation. The crime was cold-blooded, premeditated, fiendish and sordid. It had not even the poor motive of anger or passion.

The first twelve persons called will be competent jurors; the plea should be guilty; the facts can be quickly presented, and there can be only one verdict and one sentence.³³

The *Chronicle's* call for hanging appealed strongly to readers throughout California. Thurmond and Holmes

Thurmond and Holmes had been convicted and sentenced in the press and in the court of popular opinion.

had been convicted and sentenced in the press and in the court of popular opinion. No one doubted they were headed for the gallows, and few thought the formalities of a trial would add anything to their ultimate fate. Many thought a trial would mock the memory of the victim and torment his family. The *Chronicle* said the "forms of the law" should be followed. Others—including many citizens of San Jose—were not so sure.

In the annals of American justice, lynching was a venerable institution. Even before the Revolution, it was common for outraged citizens to capture suspected wrongdoers and summarily hang them.³⁴ On the western frontier, where men lived in primitive communities far removed from judges, sheriffs, or other officers of the law, lynching was often the only effective means of punishing criminals. In Gold Rush California, there were few towns without a hangman's tree that regularly creaked beneath the weight of some culprit's swinging body. During the 1850's, Committees of Vigilance formed by prominent citizens in San Francisco gave the practice of summary trial and hanging a measure of respectability, but even then it was condemned by most public officials. Lynching was generally frowned on by "respectable citizens," who urged obedience to law and respect for the institutions of criminal justice. But, when communities were besieged by lawbreakers or outraged by heinous offenses against life or property, the façade of "respectable" law and order quickly crumbled. Prominent officials had, from time to time, condoned and even encouraged mobs. President Andrew Jackson once advised Iowans to take vigilante action against a murderer.³⁵ Theodore Roosevelt volunteered to join a

Montana vigilance committee when he was punching cattle in North Dakota in 1884, and, when he learned that the vigilantes had hanged several men, he said the executions were "in the main wholesome."³⁶ Francis M. Cockrell, a United States senator from Missouri between 1875 and 1905, was a vigorous vigilante advocate, as was William J. McConnell, one of Idaho's first two senators and its governor from 1893 to 1896.³⁷

Mob action became less frequent as communities matured and police and courts became more accessible, but the ready availability of law enforcement agencies did not altogether end it. From 1904 through 1932, 1,686 lynchings were reported in various parts of the United States.³⁸ 1915 saw the highest number (145) and 1932 the lowest (10).³⁹ Mob violence was less common in California than in southern and border states, where black men accused of attacking white women were most often the victims.⁴⁰ Before 1933, the last lynching in San Jose had taken place in 1854, the last in Santa Clara County in 1883.⁴¹ As outrage over the disappearance of Brooke Hart approached a climax, Hollywood's Paramount Pictures was completing the film version of a fictional kidnapping story. With a screenplay by Adela Rogers St. John based on a novel by Rupert Hughes, the film told the story of the kidnapping of a film star's child and the subsequent lynching of the kidnapper. Reviewing the story, Paramount executives concluded that it was unbelievable—that such an event would never happen in modern-day California—and the lynch scene was cut from the film.⁴² At San Jose, however, events were once again to prove that truth is stranger than fiction.

On November 22, Holmes and Thurmond were indicted by a federal grand jury in San Francisco on charges of using the mails to extort.⁴³ On the same day, they were returned to San Jose where Sheriff Emig signed a complaint charging them with the much more serious crime of kidnapping. The following day, Alex Hart announced a reward of \$500 for recovery of his

son's body, and a Navy airship joined in the search of the bay. On November 24, two psychiatrists employed by the state examined the defendants in anticipation of a possible insanity plea. All the while, angry crowds milled around the jail, muttering oaths, conferring furiously, darkly vowing to seek vengeance for the murder victim.⁴⁴

At nine o'clock on Sunday morning, November 26, two men hunting ducks in the bay about half a mile south of the town of Hayward spotted a mysterious object floating on the surface of the water. Approaching, they quickly recognized it as Brooke Hart's body.⁴⁵

News of the discovery was flashed to San Jose, where it quickly spread through the town. By midday, a large and angry crowd had assembled in front of the jail. Aware that trouble was imminent, Sheriff Emig placed guards at the jail door. The advertising manager of Hart's Department Store appeared on the steps, angrily shaking his fists. Alex Hart had forbidden his employees to take part in any demonstration, threatening dismissal if they did, but the advertising manager would not be dissuaded. Glaring at the guards, he said, "You'd better lay down those guns when we move in."⁴⁶

All through the afternoon, young men moved through San Jose's bars and taverns—recently reopened after the dry years of Prohibition—urging drinkers to assemble at the jail.⁴⁷ As the crowd grew, city policemen were summoned, and barricades were thrown up across the three alleys that led to the jail entrance. State highway patrolmen took up posts in the courtyard between the jail and the courthouse. By 9:30 P.M., the crowd—now numbering several thousand—had begun to press against the barricades. Calls for emergency reinforcement were sent to the police departments in San Francisco and Oakland, and Governor Rolph was asked to call out the National Guard.⁴⁸

Earlier in the day, Rolph had been scheduled to fly to Boise, Idaho, to attend a governors' conference. But he had postponed his departure to stand by his desk—not,



On November 26, 1933, a mob numbering several thousand battered down the door of the Santa Clara County Jail and dragged the prisoners outside.

as might be expected, to help control the San Jose mob, but to make sure that, in his absence, no troops would be called out to suppress it.⁴⁹ The dapper former mayor of San Francisco—"Sunny Jim" to his many friends and admirers—had already taken a firm stand on affairs in San Jose. Four days earlier, he had pledged—ominously—that if the people of San Jose decided to take the law into their own hands he would not call out the National Guard to dissuade them.⁵⁰ He was still determined to stand by his promise.⁵¹

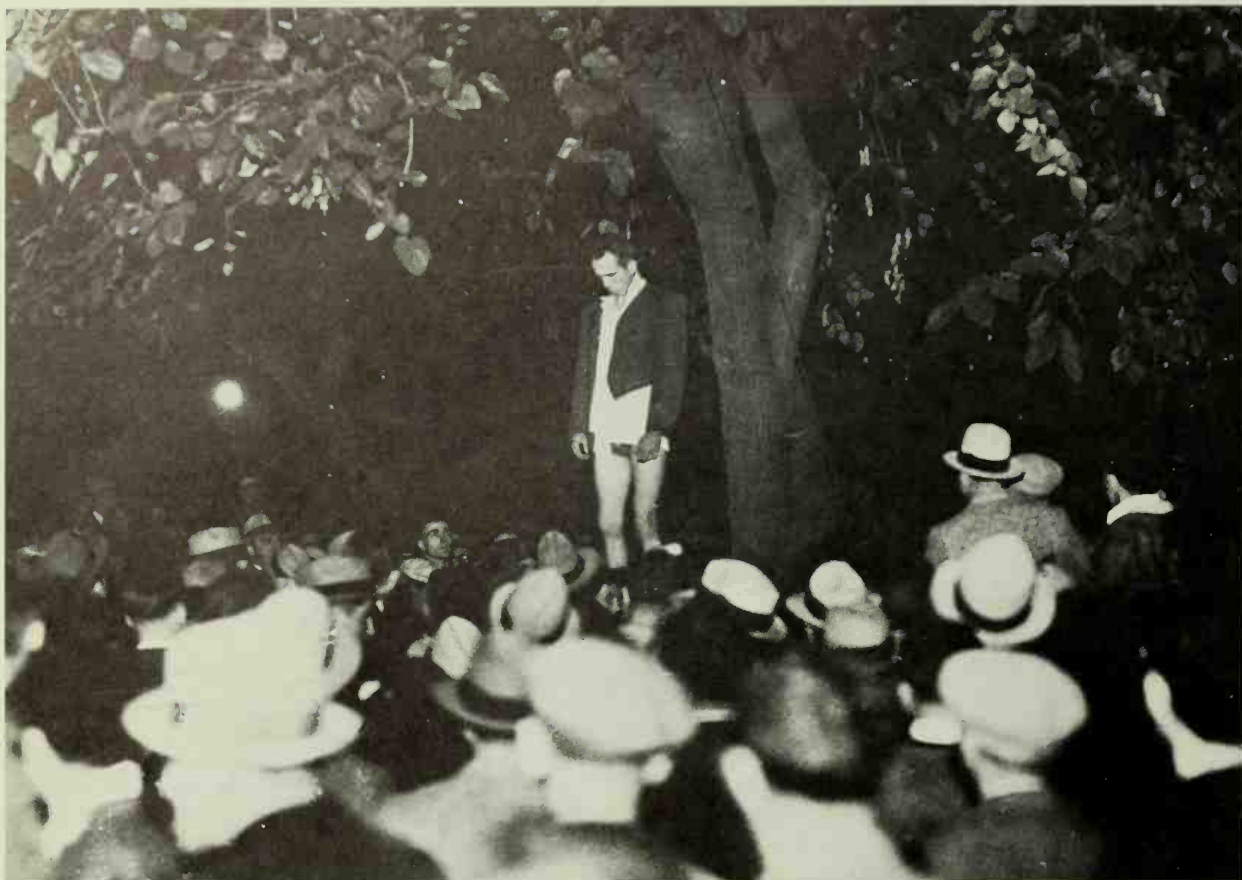
Reporters were on the scene in force. An *Examiner* correspondent stationed himself in a telephone booth a few feet from the jail door and kept fifty miles of telephone line open as he reported the story to his editor.⁵²

At 9:30, the crowd broke through the barricades and rushed toward the jail. A teen-aged boy, claiming to be a college student, brandished a crowbar and urged "men with guts enough" to follow him inside the building.⁵³ Fifty men, armed with makeshift clubs, beat on the jail door while others hurled rocks and cobblestones gathered at the post office construction site. One stone smashed the courtyard lamp, leaving the scene in darkness. Another crashed through the window of the jail office, extinguishing its light. Officers hurled tear gas

into the crowd, burning some demonstrators and temporarily dispersing others. Then a group of men returned from the construction site with a battering ram—an eight-inch pipe about twenty-five feet in length. Three times the battering ram went forward, and three times its crew was driven back by clouds of gas. "Let's get in there," the crowd shouted. "We want a touchdown!"⁵⁴

Small groups attacked the jail from different corners, dividing the attention of the defending officers and drawing repeated volleys of tear gas. Sheriff Emig placed an emergency call to the fire department, requesting that fire hoses be brought in to subdue the mob. But the firemen refused to comply with the request without approval of the fire chief or city manager, and neither of these officials could be located.⁵⁵ Thurmond, pale and haggard, watched from his third-floor cell as a fourth charge was made on the jail door. This time it gave way, and the crowd surged inside.

The sheriff and his men fought furiously with the attackers, but their tear gas was gone, and they were quickly disarmed. Some officers were beaten, others knocked to the floor.⁵⁶ Deputy Howard Moore was called upon to identify the prisoners and to open their cells. When the demonstrators came on one inmate, a



man named Tony Serpa who had recently been convicted of manslaughter—a non-capital offense—their eyes widened. For a minute or more, they milled around the prisoner's door, threatening to “give Serpa to the gang, too.”⁵⁷ But Moore pleaded for his life, and the crowd moved on. One of the demonstrators opened a window and shouted to the crowd outside. “We’ve got Holmes,” he announced, “and are bringing him down to you. We’re going to get Thurmond and let you have him, too.”⁵⁸

In a minute, the promise was kept.

Holmes was dragged by his feet through the courtyard, across the sidewalk and street, and into the shadowy recesses of St. James Park. Thurmond followed quickly. Both men were kicked and beaten and spat upon as they were dragged forward.⁵⁹

“For God’s sake,” Holmes pleaded, “give me a chance. I admit I’m Jack Holmes. But for God’s sake, give me a chance to explain my part in this thing.”⁶⁰ His face was badly beaten, and his clothes had been ripped from his

body. The mob looked about for tree limbs strong enough to support the captives’ bodies. A tree near the McKinley statue was tried and found wanting. Then another—a sturdy elm which stood near a drinking fountain—was chosen as Thurmond’s gallows. Another nearby was selected for Holmes. By now, the crowd had grown to massive proportions—some estimating that it included as many as 15,000 people.⁶¹ Men, clearly under the influence of liquor,⁶² swaggered menacingly, while women and children watched expectantly. Surrounding streets were clogged with abandoned vehicles—automobiles (most with their licenses discreetly removed) and even streetcars. All the occupants had rushed into the park. An elderly man exhorted the mob to abandon its plan, but he was ignored. As the captives were hoisted on their limbs, taunting shouts could be heard for blocks in every direction. “Brookie Hart! Brookie Hart!” some chanted. “We want a touchdown!” others cried. “Block that kick! Hold that line!”⁶³

Spotlights trained on the bodies showed Holmes

Thurmond (left) was apparently unconscious when he was hanged by the crowd. Holmes, hoisted nude from the limb of a large elm, struggled furiously with the rope before his death.

struggling furiously to free himself from the noose. Thurmond, apparently unconscious, did not resist. He died at 11:20. Holmes' death occurred six minutes later.⁶⁴

One man fought his way to Thurmond's body and touched a match to his clothing. Before the flames died out, the corpse was badly burned. The crowd remained on the scene for about an hour. Then the reinforcement police from San Francisco arrived to cut down the bodies and load them into an ambulance. Chants once again rose above the trees: "Throw them in the bay! Let the sharks get them! Treat them as they treated Hart!"⁶⁵

On Monday morning, the lynch story was headline news throughout the country. The *New York Times* printed details on its front page, and the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* rushed to the street with extras. The *Chronicle* extra of November 26 sold more copies than any in the newspaper's history up to that date, even exceeding the number sold on Armistice Day, 1918.⁶⁶ One night's run of the *Examiner* extra amounted to 150,000 copies above that newspaper's current circulation figure.⁶⁷

Most reporters and editors expressed dismay at the executions, concluding that even though the prisoners' guilt was evident, they should have been tried. Reactions from public officials varied widely. James McGrath, sheriff of San Mateo County, said that mob rule was never justified, adding: "The law states that any prisoner is entitled to a fair trial. This is a fundamental principle of government. . . ."⁶⁸ San Francisco's Mayor Angelo Rossi said he deplored mob violence, but, in his opinion, the San Jose executions were "not a mob but a gathering of respectable citizens whose feelings were outraged beyond control."⁶⁹ San Francisco Superior Judge Timothy Fitzpatrick thought the lynchers had done "a damned good job,"⁷⁰ and Dr. J. C. Geiger, the northern city's public health officer, was quoted as saying: "My only comment on the affair is 'more and better hangings. We need 'em.'"⁷¹ Alameda County's District Attorney Earl Warren reflected that the lynchings were evidence of popular distrust of legal institutions, saying: "I feel

"With all my heart," the sheriff declared, "I regret the lynching of Harold Thurmond and Jack Holmes. With all my ability I tried to prevent it. I wanted those men to have a fair trial, and I did my best to get it for them. Even criminals have rights."

that if the people were confident that criminals would be speedily apprehended and given an adequate trial, they would allow the law to take its own course."⁷²

In San Jose, the grieving Alex Hart expressed disapproval of the mob's actions, saying he had been "perfectly satisfied that the law take its course." "I am a believer in law and order," he added, "and have never tolerated violence of any sort."⁷³ Sheriff Emig, who had been painfully injured when the jail was stormed, issued a statement from his bed in a San Jose hospital. "With all my heart," the sheriff declared, "I regret the lynching of Harold Thurmond and Jack Holmes. With all my ability I tried to prevent it. I wanted those men to have a fair trial, and I did my best to get it for them. Even criminals have rights."⁷⁴

Governor Rolph did not share the sheriff's regrets. In a statement issued in Sacramento, the dapper executive expressed complete satisfaction with the crowd's action. "They'll learn they can't kidnap in this State," he said proudly. "If anyone is arrested for the good job, I'll pardon them."⁷⁵ He said he would like to release all the convicted kidnappers in San Quentin and Folsom prisons and turn them over to "those fine, patriotic San Jose citizens who know how to handle such a situation. . . ."⁷⁶

If the San Jose lynchings troubled many Americans, the words of Governor Rolph shocked them. A flood of messages poured into Sacramento, into newspaper

A New York pastor [suggested] that the word "lynching" be stricken from the English language and replaced with its "modern equivalent, Rolphing."

offices, and even into the White House in Washington, condemning the California executive's stand. Rolph's critics included prominent men and women from all over the country—governors and senators, writers and clergymen, officials of such organizations as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the American Federation of Labor, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the United States Flag Association. In London on November 27, a newspaper editor said the lynchings showed Americans had not yet "escaped from the psychology of the pioneers whose idea of law was necessarily primitive."⁷⁷ In San Francisco on November 28, novelist Gertrude Atherton joined columnist John Barry, Rabbi Irving Reichert, and Unitarian pastor S. S. Dutton to send a telegram to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, urging him to condemn Rolph. In San Jose on December 1, two resolutions deploring the lynchings were issued, one bearing the signatures of twenty local ministers, the other signed by members of the congregation of the First Baptist Church.⁷⁸ In New York on December 3, a mass meeting was held at the College of the City of New York. Speakers included Episcopal Bishop William T. Manning, Rabbi David De Sola Pool, Harlem pastor Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, City College President Frederick Robinson, and Alfred Talley, a representative of New York's Cardinal Hayes. Resolutions were passed soundly condemning the lynchings and denouncing Rolph's approval of them.⁷⁹ Also on December 5, the executive committee of the

National War Veterans' Association made public a resolution expelling Rolph from its advisory board.⁸⁰ Most cutting was probably the suggestion of Charles Francis Potter, a New York pastor, that the word "lynching" be stricken from the English language and replaced with its "modern equivalent, Rolphing."⁸¹

One of the governor's most prominent critics was a one-time political ally, former President Herbert Hoover, whose retirement home at Palo Alto was not far from the scene of the San Jose violence. On November 29, Hoover headed a group of twenty-five prominent Californians, including the president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Catholic Archbishop of San Francisco, who condemned the lynchers and the governor. A statement bearing Hoover's signature declared that the "very spirit of government has been violated and the state has been disgraced in the eyes of the world by a brutal outburst of primitive lust for vengeance. . . . This humiliation and shame is intensified by the laudation of the mob and its acts. More than this, such laudation, particularly when coming from the chief executive of the state, undermines the very foundations upon which the state and all civilized society is built, respect and reverence in the minds of the citizenry for law, order and justice."⁸² On December 6, President Roosevelt expressed a similar opinion, branding lynching "a vile form of collective murder" and saying: "We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law."⁸³

The attitude of Governor Rolph contrasted sharply with that of two other governors who were confronted with similar mobs in their own states. While investigators in San Jose were questioning Holmes and Thurmond about the Hart kidnapping, Maryland's Governor Albert Ritchie was ordering state troops to arrest the leaders of a lynch mob in his state.⁸⁴ Two days after the San Jose jail was stormed, Missouri's Governor Guy Park called out the National Guard in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the lynching of a young black man who had

been accused of attacking a white woman.⁸⁵ Some suggested that the Missouri violence, which occurred only two days after the San Jose lynchings, had been encouraged by Rolph's widely publicized pro-lynching stance.⁸⁶

The lynchings left a strange aftermath in San Jose. The jail was badly damaged, as was the new post office nearby. Souvenir hunters hacked at the limbs and trunks of the trees from which Thurmond and Holmes had been hanged, and the city manager ordered them to be cut down.⁸⁷ Street peddlers hawked ghoulish post-card-sized pictures of the hanging victims—inscribed "San Jose's Answer to the Kidnappers."⁸⁸ Tony Serpa was moved from San Jose to the jail in San Francisco to protect him against a possible recurrence of lynch sentiment. In his northern cell, Serpa sighed deeply as he told a reporter, "There's one thing I never want to see again. That's the big electric sign across the highway which reads, 'Welcome to San Jose.'"⁸⁹

The Santa Clara County Grand Jury took no action against leaders of the mob, even though some boasted openly of what they had done.⁹⁰ The governor had pledged to pardon anyone arrested—and the governor was known as a man of his word.

The *Mercury Herald* reflected the opinion of many in the city when it deplored the mob's action, saying "the kidnappers deserved it, but San Jose did not." "The feeling that inspired the mob," the newspaper editorialized, "is easy to understand. . . . But there were, in this case, none of the circumstances, except the sheer atrocity of the crime, that justify mob violence. There was no failure of government, and no fear of its failure. The officers of the law had done their duty well. They had apprehended the perpetrators of the crime, secured their confessions, and made a perfect case to confirm those confessions."⁹¹

Not all observers were as willing as the *Mercury Herald* to judge the prosecution case a "perfect" one. The families of Thurmond and Holmes still maintained that their

sons were innocent. Thurmond's mother thought her son may have been acting under some sort of mental derangement. As a child, she revealed, he had sustained a heavy blow to his head, which may have injured his brain. Although he had been a good boy, his behavior had changed recently, and a year before the Hart kidnapping the family had considered placing him in an institution.⁹² Holmes' father was sure his son was innocent. Meeting him in the jail, the father had taken his son by the arm, looked him squarely in the eyes, and asked him if he was guilty. "Dad," the son was reported to have answered, "I swear to you I know nothing about this terrible thing."⁹³

Evidence of the defendants' guilt was persuasive—but by no means conclusive. A trial would have answered many troubling questions: Were the published "confessions"—obtained after hours of intensive, night-time questioning, and after dark hints of lynching had been dropped by the interrogating officers—freely and voluntarily given? Were the statements of Mrs. Estensen, of Holmes' mother and father, and of the two wood collectors who heard cries from the bridge—statements that seemed to place Holmes in San Jose at the time of the murder—credible? Was Thurmond sane at the time of the offense, or at the time of his alleged confession? The action of the mob in St. James Park forever foreclosed answers to these questions.⁹⁴

One newspaper story reported that Thurmond's family planned legal action against public officials—but the story was quickly denied.⁹⁵ The lynchings had thrown Mrs. Thurmond into a state of shock, and she wanted only to forget the nightmare of November 26. Holmes' father, too, said he wanted to be done with the awful affair.⁹⁶ A suit was filed in April of 1934 in behalf of Holmes' widow and two minor children—but it was never brought to trial or judgment, and after a time it, too, was forgotten.⁹⁷

Governor Rolph had said the San Jose lynchings would "teach kidnappers a lesson." If the mob's action had

Governor James Rolph, Jr., praised the lynchers and promised to pardon anyone who might be arrested.

any deterrent effect on kidnappers, it was not long-lasting. In the decades that followed, the annals of California crime revealed many cases of kidnapping for ransom—and many murders, some even exceeding in viciousness and cruelty the sordid San Jose crime. The lynchings did not put an end to kidnapping in California, but they did much to take the wind out of the sails of would-be lynchers. One or two incidents of mob violence, in small and isolated communities, were noted later in the 1930's. But the leaders were not commended for their lawlessness. By then, James Rolph, Jr., victim of a fatal 1934 heart attack, had gone to his reward.⁹⁸

In 1933, Paramount Pictures had regarded lynching as too improbable to be included in a film about modern-day California. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer thought otherwise when it produced *Fury*, starring Spencer Tracy and directed by Fritz Lang, in 1936. Obviously inspired by the San Jose tragedy, *Fury* told the story of a man who was passing through a small town when he was wrongfully arrested and charged with kidnapping. A mob intent on lynching him attacked the jail and burned it down. Twenty-two leaders of the mob were arrested on charges of murdering the alleged kidnappers, who had, without the authorities' knowledge, escaped during the fire. First hoping to see the mob leaders convicted, the innocent man finally appeared in court, and the murder charges were dismissed. Reviewing *Fury* when it opened in San Jose in June of 1936, the *Mercury Herald* did not mention the similarity between the film and the lynching of Holmes and Thurmond, though it called the movie "sensational" and praised its "powerful screenplay."⁹⁹ In 1936, novelist John Steinbeck published a compelling short story that was inspired by the events in San Jose (Steinbeck's wife was a native of the city, and he was intimately acquainted with it). Titled "The Lonesome Vigilante" when it appeared in *Esquire* magazine in October, 1936, the story was reprinted as "The Vigilante" in Steinbeck's widely praised collection of short stories, *The Long Valley*, published in 1938.¹⁰⁰ In



1951, a second film inspired by the San Jose tragedy was released in theatres. Based on a novel by Jo Pagano titled *The Condemned*, the film was titled *Try and Get Me*. Starring Lloyd Bridges and Frank Lovejoy, *Try and Get Me* followed the San Jose events even more closely than *Fury*.¹⁰¹

The films and the Steinbeck story were evidence, if any was needed, that the executions of Harold Thurmond and John Holmes were something more than a typical American lynching. Occurring in the midst of a prosperous middle-class community with effective law enforcement agencies all around, they were clearly unnecessary. Years after Brooke Hart and his alleged murderers were laid in their graves, the executions were still remembered as "San Jose's shame."¹⁰² However indefensible the actions of the lynchers or the words of Governor Rolph, both were characteristic responses to a perceived danger. Anger reaches awful intensity when it rises in a mob, even a mob in a "respectable" middle-class community. Although Americans profess distaste for violence, violence is not an unusual American response to threat. The nation was born in the violence of revolution, tempered in the violence of civil war, brought to maturity in the violence of wars with Mexico, Spain, Germany, and Japan. The veneer of civilization wears thin when lives are threatened or moral sensibilities offended, as they were by the wave of kidnappings that swept the nation in the early thirties. If the

San Jose lynchings proved anything, they showed that violence is not the exclusive tool of the outcasts of society. "Good citizens," and otherwise respected public officials—like murderers, kidnappers and thieves—will use it for their own purposes when they are sufficiently provoked.

A visitor to San Jose today will search in vain for physical evidence of the lynchings of Thurmond and Holmes. The population of the city has swelled from 82,000 to more than 500,000. The jail from which the lynch victims were dragged to their deaths is gone now, replaced by a towering new courts building. Hart's downtown department store is gone, as is the handsome Hart mansion on The Alameda. The courthouse still stands, and the completed post office next to it, and the statue of President McKinley in the shadowy expanse of St. James Park, though the gallows trees have long since disappeared. But thousands of the city's residents still remember that long-ago night of anger and violence. And not without reason. Buildings and stores and trees are easily erased, but bitter memories—like bad dreams—have a life and death of their own.

The photographs of Hart, Thurmond, Holmes, and the mob are from the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The lynching photo is from the CHS Library. The St. James Park photo was taken by the author. Rolph's photo is from the California Section Picture Collection of the California State Library, Sacramento.

Notes

1. *San Jose City Directory* (1933), p. 12.
2. The locations of buildings and other places mentioned in this article were established by reference to Sanborn Map Company's *Insurance Maps of San Jose* (New York, 1915, as corrected to July, 1932).
3. The store was founded by Leopold Hart, father of Alexander J. Hart and grandfather of Brooke Hart. In 1887-88, Leopold Hart was the manager and Alexander J. Hart a salesman in the Corner Cash Store run by Lizar Lion at the southeast corner of Market and Santa Clara. *San Jose City Directory* (1887), pp. 127, 169. In 1889, Leopold Hart was owner of the store and

Alexander J. Hart a salesman in it. *Santa Clara County Directory* (1889), p. 190. Leopold Hart is not to be confused with James Hart, who came to Santa Clara County in the 1850's and who was also the proprietor of a dry goods store. Thompson and West's *Historical Atlas of Santa Clara County* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 105. The *San Francisco Examiner* reported that Hart's store was seventy-six years old in 1963, indicating that it was established about 1887. Lynn Ludlow, "San Jose Lynching—They Don't Discuss 'It'," *San Francisco Examiner*, October 26, 1963, Section III, p. 7.

4. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 10, 1933, p. 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Edward S. Sullivan, "The Brooke Hart Kidnap-Murder and the California Lynch Mob," *Master Detective*, May, 1962, p. 60.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1933, p. 4.
10. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 12, 1933, p. 1.
11. Sullivan, "Kidnap-Murder," 64.
12. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 17, 1933, pp. 1, 13.
13. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1933, p. 4.
14. Sullivan, "Kidnap-Murder," 87.
15. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 17, 1933, B.
16. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1933, p. 4.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13 (Chicago, 1972): 341.
19. *Encyclopedia Americana*, International Edition, 16 (New York, 1974): 401a.
20. Bruno Richard Hauptmann was arrested in September, 1934, tried in January and February, 1935, and executed in April, 1936. Jay Robert Nash, *Bloodletters and Badmen, A Narrative Encyclopedia of American Criminals from the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York, 1973), p. 247.
21. *Encyclopedia Americana*, International Edition, 17 (New York, 1974): 516-517.
22. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 17, 1933, p. 1; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 17, 1933, p. 1; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1933, p. 1.
23. In an editorial, the *Mercury Herald* said that both men "earned their living by honest employment. One [Holmes] had a wife and two children. Both sustained good reputations." But the paper added that they had been seen at "bootleg and gambling resorts" and may have associated with "an underworld character." *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 21, 1933. The *Chronicle* said that the sheriff uncovered "a cache of Thurmond and Holmes, under a culvert near the city limits where the two men are believed to have hidden loot from two oil station robberies." *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 23, 1933.
24. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 17, 1933, B.
25. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 19, 1933, p. 1.

26. *Ibid.*
27. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 19, 1933, p. 1.
28. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 18, 1933, p. 1.
29. *Ibid.*, 9.
30. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 17, 1933, p. 1; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 17, 1933, p. 1; California Penal Code Section 209, as amended by Statutes 1933, chapter 685, p. 1757, section 1; and chapter 1025, p. 2617, section 1.
31. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 30, 1933.
32. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1933, p. 1.
33. *Ibid.*
34. William E. Burrows, *Vigilante!* (New York, 1976), pp. 36-37.
35. *Ibid.*, 20.
36. *Ibid.*, 8-9, 20.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Frank Shay, *Judge Lynch, His First Hundred Years* (New York, 1938), pp. 274-275.
39. *Ibid.*
40. A compilation of lynching statistics released by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1934 showed that Alabama had five lynchings in 1933; Georgia and Louisiana four each; South Carolina and Tennessee three each; Mississippi two; Florida, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, and Texas one each. California had two, both in San Jose. *Literary Digest*, January 13, 1934, p. 7.
41. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 28, 1933, p. 1.
42. *New York Times*, November 29, 1933, p. 3; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 29, 1933, p. 1.
43. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 23, 1933, p. 1.
44. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 17, 1933, A.
45. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 27, 1933, pp. 2, 3.
46. Alvin D. Hyman, "The San Jose Lynchings," in Frank Luther Mott (ed.), *New Stories of 1933, A Collection of Some of the Best News and Feature Stories of Various Types Which Appeared in American Newspapers in 1933* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1934), p. 121.
47. *Time* magazine identified one eighteen-year-old who had driven all over town, passing the word: "We're going to have a lynching at the jail at 11 o'clock tonight." The young man is reported to have said: "Mostly I went to the speakeasies and rounded up the gang there. That is why so many of the mob were drunk." *Time*, December 4, 1933, p. 14.
48. Hyman, "San Jose Lynchings," 122; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 28, 1933, p. 9.
49. "If I had gone away some one would have called out the troops on me," the governor was quoted as saying, "and I promised in Los Angeles I would not do that. Why should I call out troops to protect those two fellows?" *New York Times*, November 28, 1933, p. 1.
50. "Let the Sheriff handle the matter himself," the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Rolph as saying on November 22. "He can ap-
point as many deputies as he wishes. But I refuse to call out the guard to protect two kidnapers [sic] who killed a fine, upstanding youth." *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1933, Part I, p. 1.
51. *New York Times*, November 28, 1933, p. 1.
52. Mott, *New Stories of 1933*, 118.
53. Hyman, "San Jose Lynchings," 122.
54. *Ibid.*, 123.
55. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 27, 1933, p. 2.
56. Hyman, "San Jose Lynchings," 124.
57. *Ibid.*, 125.
58. *Ibid.*, 124.
59. *Ibid.*, 119; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 22, 1933, p. 1.
60. Hyman, "San Jose Lynchings," 119.
61. The *Mercury Herald* estimated the crowd at 5,000 (*San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 27, 1933, p. 2); the *Chronicle* at 10,000 (*San Francisco Chronicle*, November 27, 1933, "6 A. M. Extra," p. 1); the *Examiner* at 15,000 (Hyman, "San Jose Lynchings," 118).
62. See note 47, above. Sullivan describes the event as follows: "It was a mad, demoniac Witches' Sabbath with all the bars let down, as the gleeful lynchers, many of them only transient visitors to San Jose, reveled in the novel experience of taking out all their pent-up frustrations and hatreds on the two insensate corpses—with the sanction and benediction of mob law." Sullivan, "Kidnap-Murder," 91.
63. Hyman, "San Jose Lynchings," 121.
64. *Ibid.*, 120.
65. *Ibid.*, 126.
66. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1933, p. 1.
67. Mott, *New Stories of 1933*, 118.
68. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1933, p. 7.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Los Angeles Times*, November 29, 1933, Part I, p. 1.
74. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 30, 1933, p. 11.
75. As reported by the *New York Times*, Rolph's statement was: "They'll learn they can't kidnap in this State. If anyone is arrested for the good job, I'll pardon them all." *New York Times*, November 28, 1933, p. 1. The *Mercury Herald* reported that his statement was: "That was a fine lesson to the whole nation. There will be less kidnaping [sic] in the country now. They made a good job of it. If anyone is arrested for the good job I'll pardon them all. I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the Union." *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 28, 1933, p. 4. The *Chronicle* quoted the governor as saying: "This is the best lesson that California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnaping [sic]." *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 27, 1933, "6 A. M. Extra,"

- p. 1. Rolph's biographer stated that the governor's reaction to news of the lynching was: "Good—this is the best lesson that California has ever given the country. Those men deserved what they got. While the law should have been permitted to take its course [this reservation was not reported by other sources], this occurrence will serve as a warning to kidnapers [sic] throughout the nation that California will not tolerate such cowardly acts. It will protect our homes and children against such criminals." David Wooster Taylor, *The Life of James Rolph, Jr.* (San Francisco, 1934), p. 110. *Time* reported the governor's words as: "This is the best lesson California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnapping. I don't think they will arrest anyone for the lynchings. If anyone is arrested for the good job, I'll pardon them all. Why should I call out troops to protect those two fellows?" *Time*, December 4, 1933, p. 14.
76. *New York Times*, November 29, 1933, p. 1; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 28, 1933, p. 4.
77. *New York Times*, November 28, 1933, p. 3.
78. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, December 2, 1933, p. 4.
79. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, December 4, 1933, pp. 1, 2.
80. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, December 6, 1933, p. 1.
81. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, December 4, 1933, p. 2; *Time*, December 11, 1933, p. 15.
82. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 30, 1933, p. 1; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 30, 1933, p. 11; *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1933, Part I, p. 2.
83. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, December 7, 1933, p. 1.
84. Local police and prosecutors had refused to act. *New York Times*, November 29, 1933, pp. 1, 3; *Time*, December 11, 1933, p. 14; Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 207-211.
85. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 30, 1933, p. 1; *Time*, December 11, 1933, p. 14; Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 216-220.
86. *Time*, December 11, 1933, p. 14.
87. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 28, 1933, p. 1.
88. On November 29, three men were arrested in San Francisco on charges of selling "indecent pictures" of the lynch victims. Reports were made of similar sales in Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 30, 1933, p. 11.
89. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1933, p. 1.
90. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 30, 1933, p. 1; Warren F. Webb, "Lynchings in California: Holmes, Thurmond Case, San Jose," *Police and Peace Officers' Journal*, October, 1936, p. 4; *Time*, December 4, 1933, p. 14. Hearsay has it that no indictments could be obtained because many participants in the lynchings were undoubtedly members of the Grand Jury, and some may even have been connected with law enforcement agencies.
91. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 27, 1933, p. 8.
92. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 28, 1933, p. 9.
93. *Ibid.*
94. A representative of the American Civil Liberties Union investigated the circumstances of the crime, of Holmes' alleged confession, and of his alibi. He concluded that the alibi was "generally credible," while there were "many incredible features of the so-called confession, obtained by third-degree methods." Ellis O. Jones, "Was An Innocent Man Lynched at San Jose?" *New Republic*, February 7, 1934, pp. 365-366.
95. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 29, 1933, p. 1.
96. Rev. R. J. Thurmond, Harold Thurmond's brother, said reports of a suit planned by his family were "a pack of lies." Holmes' family reportedly "desired to forget the entire affair as quickly as possible." *San Jose Mercury Herald*, November 29, 1933, p. 1.
97. *Evelyn Holmes, et al, v. James Rolph, Jr., et al*, civil action no. 250279, Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, complaint filed April 20, 1934. The last activity in this case, which was never brought to trial, was on June 11, 1935. A second suit, also commenced by Holmes' widow, was filed on November 26, 1934. It was *David Holmes, et al, v. William J. Enig, et al*, civil action no. 254460, Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco. In this case, an order for change of venue to Santa Clara County was made on March 26, 1935. It is not clear that the case was in fact transferred, as a dismissal without prejudice was filed by the plaintiffs in San Francisco on July 29, 1936. A third action, also filed by Holmes' widow, was *David Holmes, et al, v. William J. Enig, et al*, civil action no. 267235, Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco. In this case, the complaint was filed on July 10, 1936, more than nineteen months after the lynchings. The defendants' demurrers to the complaint were sustained without leave to amend, and judgment was ordered for the defendants, apparently on the ground that the statute of limitations had expired. In his autobiography, published thirty years after the events, plaintiffs' attorney recalled: "As Rolph was a resident of San Francisco, I was able to file the action [sic] in that county. However, he died shortly afterward, and the defendants had the case removed to Santa Clara County, where it died too." Vincent Hallinan, *A Lion in Court* (New York, 1963), p. 224. Any action against the public officials would seem to have had little chance of success from the start. The sheriff and his men seemed to have defended Holmes and Thurmond in good faith. A jury selected in Santa Clara County would probably have been unsympathetic to the plaintiffs. Rolph may well have been protected by the doctrine of "sovereign immunity," which relieves public officials from liability for all but a narrow and specifically defined class of acts.
98. Taylor, *James Rolph, Jr.*, 120-125.
99. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, June 21, 1936, p. 39.
100. John Steinbeck, *The Long Valley* (New York, 1938).
101. *New York Times Film Review*, May 10, 1951, p. 2518.
102. Ward Winslow, "San Jose's Night of Shame," *Palo Alto Times*, Peninsula Living Section, June 9, 1956, pp. 14, 37.

CARVILLE

San Francisco's Oceanside Bohemia



In San Francisco's Sunset district in the late 1890's, ingenious city dwellers found a way to recycle the horse-drawn streetcars made obsolete by the introduction of cable cars. The horse-cars which once followed the tracks of Valencia and Market streets found their useful lives extended as club houses, beach cabins, restaurants, shops, and permanent homes along the new ocean-front Great Highway south of Golden Gate Park.

Women who enjoyed cycling on the new paths of the park, musicians looking for a place to unwind in the late evening, doctors seeking relaxation in the sun, and literary-minded college students found the old cars to be ideal places to meet and entertain. Artists and writers Maynard Dixon, Xavier Martinez, Jack London, Arnold Genthe, and Gelett Burgess were attracted from their other Bohemian retreats to a car provisioned for them by a patron of the arts. Families, too, could rent a car or two for vacation use for \$5 a month. Even permanent residents settled happily into an economical home constructed from one or more of the surplus cars.

Early in 1895, E. P. Vining, a man whose efficiencies in running the Market Street Railway Company cut costs but often angered the San Francisco public, decided to clear out the obsolete cars which had been merely taking up room in the company power houses.¹ Advertised widely for "\$20 with seats, \$10 without," the cars became popular as backyard playhouses, shoe repair shops, vacation cottages, bath houses, and real estate offices. By 1900, more than 100 of the cars clustered in the untamed dunes across the Great Highway from the ocean beach, extending south from Lincoln Way (the southern boundary of Golden Gate Park) in a colony soon known as Carville.

The innovative Carville builders put into practice an architectural concept popular today—the use of ready-made modular units. Some cars were placed on stilts or stacked one on top of another to catch the view or, more

probably, to escape the drifting sand. Finding one car to their liking, the new owners might add another to make a "T" or "L" shaped house, and yet another for a "U" arrangement which provided a protected courtyard. Some cars were hidden inside another structure, but as one reporter observed, "No matter what the original plan might have been, the house finally comes out with a reminder of car somewhere, a rounded place in front or rear, with the sides for all the world like the windows of a car."²

Car interiors featured hidden lockers and built-in cupboards where the large horse-car lanterns once had been placed. Some were given a sunken bathtub below the floor boards, covered by a trap door when not in use. Victorian embellishments—including fringed portieres, bird cages, and potted palms—were added, and a marine scene might be painted on the clerestory windows. Residents relied heavily on driftwood finds from the beach for decks, fences, and garden improvements.

The first four cars, a food stand and three rental units, appeared in Carville in 1895 under the aegis of Mayor Adolph Sutro. The *San Francisco Examiner* tells of two Valencia Street cars purchased by a speculator and left at the terminus of the Park and Ocean Steam Line south of the Cliff House.³ Sutro, attentive to the minutest detail which affected his ocean-front properties, must have seen them and decided to put them to use. Perhaps he also thought the food stand would solve the financial problems of a friend, Col. Charles E. Dailey, who was living in an abandoned real estate shack on Sutro's property while recovering his health. Sutro was convinced that the pure air off the Pacific, sweeping over 5,000 miles of ocean, had to be free of the "tiny, flitting particles called bacteria" present in the more crowded sections of the city.⁴

Dailey shared Sutro's views on the healthfulness of beach living. A *San Francisco Call* reporter wrote that Dailey had been "literally saved from the jaws of death. He was broken down with numerous afflictions and was

Ms. Cowan is a reader service librarian at the CHS Library.

FOR SALE.

THE MARKET-STREET RAILWAY COMPANY, San Francisco, offers for sale a number of condemned

CAR BODIES.

PRICE WITHOUT SEATS, \$10 EACH
OR WITH SEATS - - - \$20 EACH

Can be used for newsstands, fruitstands, lunchstands, offices, summer-houses, children's playhouses, poultry-houses, toolhouses, coalsheds, woodsheds, conservatories, rolling booths, etc. Apply to H. O. ROGERS, Division Superintendent, corner Fourth and Louisa streets, San Francisco. MWF

scarcely able to walk. He was told by his physician to go to various places but in some way he made up his mind that the western edge of the San Francisco Desert has about as much in its favor as any other locality. He moved something over a year ago and improvement at once set in. Today he is as well as any man of his age."⁵

Colonel Dailey dispensed refreshments to the beach crowds and cyclists through the windows of the old Valencia Street car named "The Annex." On sunny weekends thousands enjoyed the ocean beach and park, many arriving by the Park and Ocean Steam Line. Dailey's camp near the boulevard stop at Forty-ninth Avenue and Lincoln Way provided feature story material for reporters.⁶ His shack was described in terms of an Old Curiosity Shop set down in Robinson Crusoe's backyard. Though Dailey was often called an "old salt" and pictured in a seaman's greatcoat, his obituary in 1903 confirms his military title.⁷

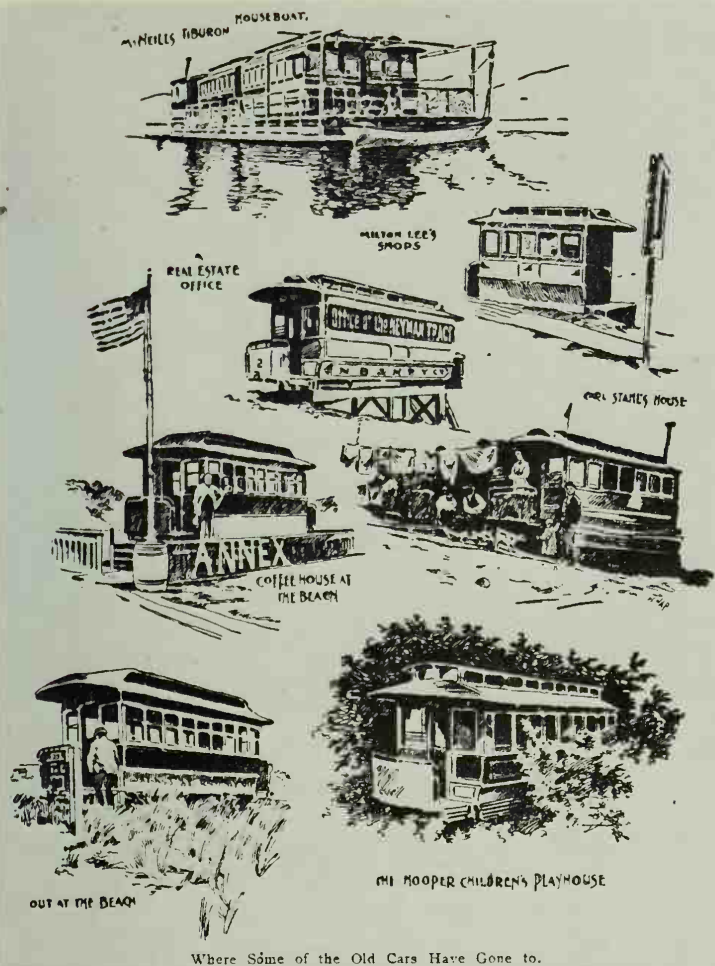
Bicycling fever was high in San Francisco in 1895, and one of the cars in Dailey's enclave was the clubhouse of a group of women cyclists named the Falcons. The women refurbished the old North Beach and Mission car with matting and blue and white Delft-patterned curtains. The popular club soon expanded into other cars and added a lean-to for their bicycles. For their banquets

they devised a table large enough to seat twenty-eight persons, built to swing away to the ceiling when not in use. If the car was too crowded inside to reach the kitchen, one could always run around the outside and enter by the back platform.

When not cycling on the new paths through the park to the beach, the Falcons enjoyed bathing in the ocean "when no one was watching" or playing Whist. "Each 'weekend' found gathered here a merry convocation of the fairest of San Francisco's brilliant women to which was added a large number of the leading professional men, artists, writers and travellers. . . ." Among those notables visiting the "car that ran into a house" were Ambrose Bierce, Arthur McEwen, and the "entire membership of the Press Club;" Mayor Sutro, who rode down frequently from Sutro Heights on his black horse; artist Xavier Martinez; and W. W. Stow, John Mackay, and Collis Huntington, who declared, "This is the most pleasant little place of rest I have ever found."⁸

In the late nineties visitors might stray over the dunes from the Falcon's car to the picnic car of the "Fuzzy Bunch," long-haired Bohemians of the day. Among the artists, musicians, and writers who made up the group were Gelett Burgess, Maynard Dixon, Arnold Genthe, Porter Garnett, Will Irwin, Jack London, Bruce Porter, George Sterling, Ina Coolbrith, Anna Strunsky, and Isabel Frazer. Edwin Emerson writes of visiting the car in 1905 with his future wife, Mary Edith Griswold, known as "Maisie" among the Bohemians. The fuzzies' patron angel was Dr. Cross, a prosperous physician who bought the car from Mayor Sutro and who stocked it with "eatables and drinkables on many occasions when many of the fuzzies gathered there to make merry." Dr. Cross habitually entrusted the padlock key "to a friendly grocer near the Dunes, from whom it could be obtained at all times, together with further eatables and drinkables to be credited in the grocer's ledger to the generous doctor."⁹

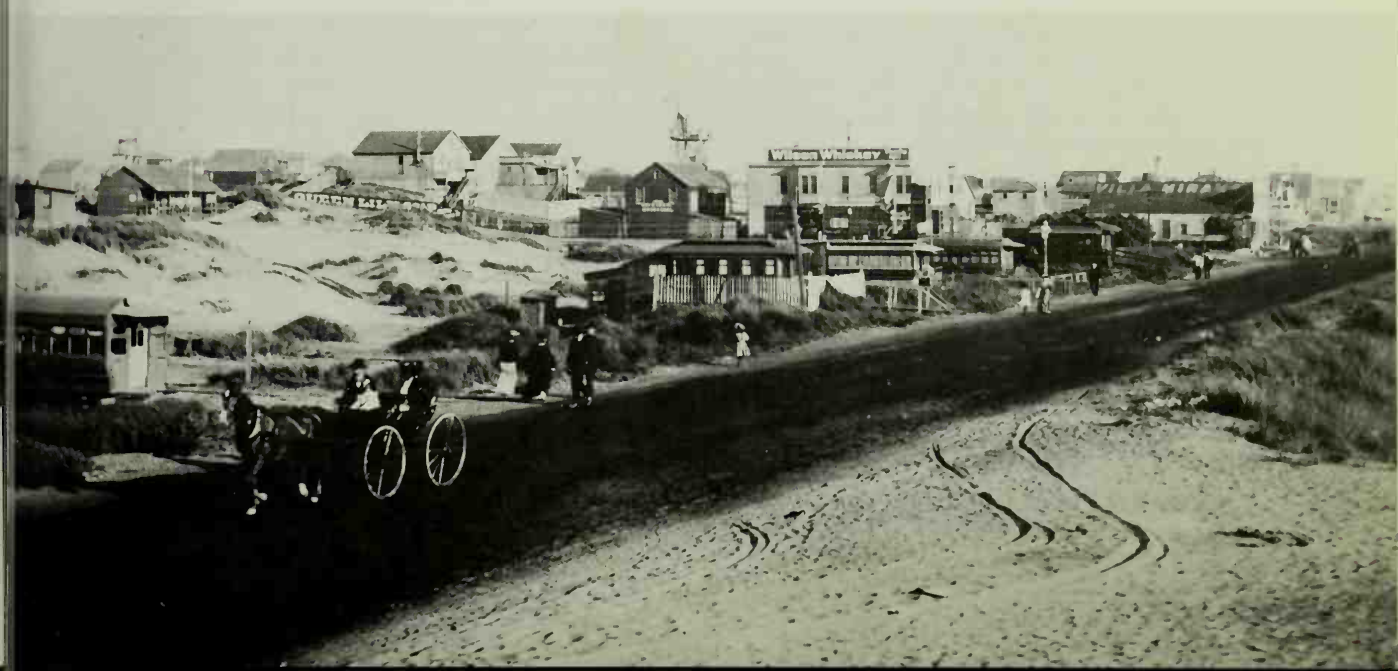
In the early 1900's musicians gathered in a car which

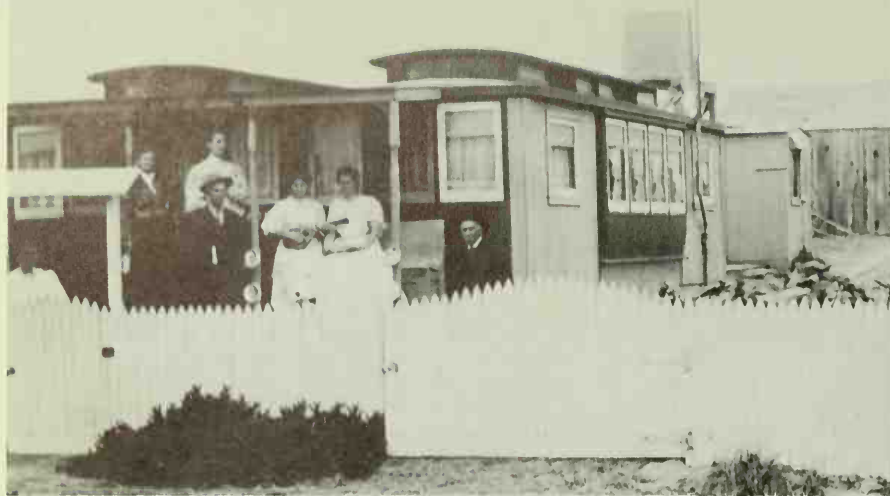


Where Some of the Old Cars Have Gone to.

Priced at \$10 and \$20 in an 1895 newspaper advertisement (page 310), surplus horse-cars were put to use as modular shops, play-houses, and homes. Four cars linked to make an ark on Belvedere Bay and Col. Dailey's Carville coffee house, the Annex, were sketched for San Francisco Examiner readers in 1895.

Car-houses line the Great Highway at the turn of the century. (Below) The John Brumond Grocery on Irving Street is below the whiskey advertisement, and Brumond's Occanside Hall (above the soap sign) temporarily housed the Occanside School.





Ruffled curtains decorated the interior of this family's two-car house.

they named "La Boheme" after the popular new opera. The car was Colonel Dailey's old refreshment stand, "The Annex." After rehearsals and lessons during the day and performances in the evenings, the musicians needed a place to congregate and unwind in the early morning hours. The members of the orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera company were entertained at "La Boheme" one day in 1908 when they were on tour in San Francisco. The musicians later voted it the finest experience of their entire trip.¹⁰

San Francisco bachelors also kept cars tucked away in the dunes. Gay P. Summer, a character in Gelett Burgess' novel *The Heart Line* (1907), casually suggested a Carville date to Fancy Gray, a pretty receptionist. "I've got a car out there where we could get lost easy enough," he urged. Not much of a bower, Summer's car was

a weather-worn, blistered, orange-colored affair that had once done service on Mission Street. The cash-box was still affixed to the interior; the platform, shaky as it was, still held; the gong above, though cracked, still rang. There was a partition dividing what they called their living-room, where the seats did service for bunks, from the kitchen where they were bridged for a table and perforated for cupboards. There was a shaky canvas arrangement over the plank platform; and beneath, in the sand, was buried a treasure of beer bottles, iron knives, forks and spoons and wooden plates. Here, unchaperoned and unmolested, save by the wind and sun, Gay P. Summer and Fancy Gray proceeded to get acquainted.

Before the turn of the century car-houses were used as residences, as well as for recreational purposes. Contemporary accounts differ in identifying the first person to live permanently in one of the cars at Carville. They allude variously to an Italian immigrant; a sea captain

lonesome for the sea (possibly Colonel Dailey in his seaman's coat, although he lived in a real-estate shack); and a horse-car conductor who retired to live in his old car rather than work on an electric trolley.¹¹ A more recent article suggests that the Robert H. Fitzgeralds were the first permanent car residents. Fitzgerald was described as an influential city official who found a car to be a quiet retreat from the favor-seekers who hounded him.¹² The Fitzgeralds were named in early accounts as renters in Colonel Dailey's resort when Ida Fitzgerald was president of the Falcon Bicycle Club. They may well have chosen permanent beach life as early as 1896 when Fitzgerald's city address disappears from the city directory and he is listed only by his title, deputy city clerk.

In 1898 realtor Jacob Heyman developed a package deal—a Carville lot and car-house—with the permanent resident in mind. Heyman himself used a car as a real estate office at Elizabeth and Hoffman streets. In 1907, *Country Life in America* named him "Father of Carville" and recorded:

The first lot of these cars he [Heyman] sold to a Mr. George Robinson, for which, together with the land on which they were placed, that gentleman paid \$650. One bright winter morning in January, 1899, Mr. Robinson had the novel experience of seeing his home that was to be hauled across the park roads and dumped high and dry on the sand of the Cliff House Beach. The \$650 included the delivery. It came piecemeal from the city, room by room, and each one was a small horse-car that had just been put on the retired list, along with its motive power, the worn-out horse.¹³

Robinson's address in the 1900 city directory was listed as 4545 "I" (Irving) Street.¹⁴



The interior of this car-house retreat was most carefully decorated to Victorian taste.

Cora Older's scrapbook included this snapshot of Mrs. Gunn's well-known Carville tearoom. The caption written in Older's own hand recalls the bomb plot against her husband, a newspaper editor, during the San Francisco graft trials in 1907.



The development of the property along the Great Highway as a residential area of small homes would have surprised Adolph Sutro, who held much of its land in large tracts. Sutro believed that other wealthy persons would join him in building estates along the Pacific on an ocean-front esplanade. As a writer identified as J. K. in *The Wave* explained,

The plutocrat of the twentieth century will have his villa here rather than on Pacific Heights or at Burlingame. Indeed, Mr. Sutro, who had the imagination to build the biggest and ugliest baths in America, and a Cliff House that looks like a fortified dry goods box, has but to close his eyes and see a vision of pale pink palaces embowered in verdure along the boulevard stretching over the sand dunes to the gum trees in the distance, and all paying tribute to his foresight. This is the ocean beach according to Sutro.”¹⁵

Whatever the form of the houses, Sutro foresaw the demand for residential property that population growth would create in the Richmond and Sunset districts and invested heavily in property with profits brought out of the Comstock. The use of car-houses on Sutro property was to have been a temporary expedient, a source of rental income while the property increased in value. However, Sutro’s daughter, Emma Sutro Merritt, who was appointed guardian when Sutro was judged incompetent, began to sell off lots in 1898 to meet the cash needs of the estate.

The earthquake and fire in 1906 brought many refugees to shelter in the house-cars which had previously been retreats and weekend homes. Among them were Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, and





A family album snapshot of a favorite multi-story vacation cottage.

OPPOSITE: Scattered on the sand like toys in this strangely peaceful photograph made around 1900 are outmoded horse-drawn streetcars.

At least four cars are visible in the elaborate Carville structure below. Rounded lines suggest "Moderne" architecture of a later time. Dashboards from front platforms make up the fence along the plank sidewalk.



OCEAN BOULEVARD LOTS

*The great Dutch Windmill,
a picturesque structure not
far from these lots*



Baldwin & Howell
SOLE AGENTS
318-324 Kearny Street, San Francisco

*Real estate agents promoted Oceanside lots,
spelling an end to the lifestyle of Carville's
beach lovers.*

his wife Cora. The Older cars on the Great Highway were presided over by Mary Gunn, a widow whom they befriended. Mrs. Gunn ran a popular tea room in three of the cars until her death in 1923, and she was known to pick and choose those she would serve. Older's reforming editorial policy during the Graft Prosecution trials in 1907 brought threats against his life. A plot to bomb his car-house was planned, Older's penchant for a daily swim and dinner at Ocean Beach being well-known in the city. The would-be bombers hid a cache of dynamite in a rented cottage nearby, but Older was warned in time to avoid danger.¹⁶ While the Olders were only temporary refugees from the earthquake and fire, many others remained as permanent residents in the district.

The earthquake also was responsible for bringing old cable cars to Carville. Damage to machinery and tracks accelerated the city's change-over to the electric trolley, making the cable cars obsolete.¹⁷

By 1908 Carville was described in the *Overland Monthly* as a suburb of 2000 people, "... paradise of the clerk and small business man, who can daily enjoy a morning plunge in the invigorating breakers, yet whirl to work in town by electric car in an hour or less."¹⁸

Carville, the Bohemian resort, was becoming Oceanside, the residential community. New residents helped to build a school and church, the first to be built in the city after the earthquake and fire. The Oceanside Improvement Club, formed in 1903, counted electric, gas, and water service to residences and a projected sewer line among its accomplishments by 1910. Roads had been graded and bituminized, gas street lights replaced with electric ones, and cement walks installed in place of planks. Many of the new residents thought the old car-houses did not fit in with the progressive, new image.

By 1908, in fact, Emmett M. O'Brien, reporting in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, foresaw the passing of Carville, "the odd city on Ocean Beach." "The unique settlement of car-dwellers in the sand dunes on the Ocean Beach," he wrote, "will soon be a thing of the past, for

In the 1920's car-houses provided inexpensive, even rent-free, housing to residents in the Sunset District.



After the earthquake and fire, horse-cars provided temporary housing, and as years passed they were frequently converted to permanent shelters.



the resident who has a front platform for his kitchen is no longer welcome in the shifting sands. The diminutive cottage and the two-story pretentious house, all a shingle, have come to supplant the time-serving car.¹⁹

In 1913, the president of the Oceanside Improvement Club secured permission from remaining members of the Falcon Bicycle Club to burn the unused club house. The community gathered on the evening of July 4 and “burned the Car out of Carville,” also watching a \$10 display of fireworks financed by the city. The club’s new motto was, “Make clean today by sweeping and burning up the debris of yesterday.”²⁰

The announcement of Carville’s passing may have been premature, an underestimation of the intense emotional attachment of San Franciscans to the horse and cable car. When new, more conventional houses were built, cars were sometimes incorporated in the framework. When Carville pioneer Robert Fitzgerald, the first president of the Oceanside Improvement Club, constructed his house, two cars made up the second floor, with a hallway running around the outside of the cars.²¹

Despite promotion of the Oceanside district by the improvement club and early realtors, development lagged after the earthquake resettlement. Jules Getz of

the pioneer realty company, Sol Getz and Sons, recalled that he was often told to "peddle our sand somewhere else. . . . We encouraged any kind of building at first—even the old horse and cable cars that made up Carville—just to get someone out here."²² In 1924, Getz went so far as to allow the needy to use the old cars rent-free.

The extension of the Judah streetcar line through the new Sunset tunnel in 1928 facilitated the inevitable extension of the city to the ocean's edge. Stucco houses and apartment and motel complexes replaced most of the thirty or so car-houses that remained into the 1930's.

Today, the observer in the old Oceanside district is tempted to see a streetcar in every long, narrow structure and to imagine lines of them hidden in backyards. The few that remain, however, are well-concealed, often unknown to neighbors living half a block away.

The photographs on pages 314 and 315 (bottom) are from the Bancroft Library. All the others are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. "At the end of their trip," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 22, 1895, p. 19.
2. Emmett M. O'Brien, "Passing of Carville; the odd city on ocean beach," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1908, p. 12.
3. *San Francisco Examiner*, September 22, 1895, p. 19.
4. "A barbeque in the rain," *Morning Call*, February 7, 1892, p. 7.
5. "The Great Desert of San Francisco," *San Francisco Call*, May 23, 1897, p. 27.
6. "Quaint village of condemned street railway cars on the ocean beach," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 4, 1896, p. 1.
7. "Roar of waves is his requiem," *San Francisco Call*, October 15, 1903, p. 3. The obituary also states that Dailey was military agent of the state of Connecticut, serving on the battlefields of the Civil War. He was receiver of government funds for Arizona Territory before coming to San Francisco.
8. "Burn the car out of 'Carville'; residents of Oceanside celebrate," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1913, p. 38.
9. Robert O'Brien, "Riptides," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 18, 1950, p. 18. Mary Griswold Emerson was a freelance writer and later an editor of *Smset*. She appeared in the famous murals painted at Coppa's restaurant. In a letter to the author, Elsie Martinez quotes her husband, Xavier, as remembering the car as an artists' retreat, thanks to a wealthy doctor. Perhaps the generous Dr. Cross is Dr. Charles V. Cross, listed as owner of property at K (now Kirkham) Street and Forty-fifth Avenue in the *Realty Directory of San Francisco*, 1896.
10. "Bohemia in a horse car," *San Francisco Call*, March 15, 1908, magazine section, part one, p. 3.
11. Leslie E. Gilliams, "Cartown," *Strand*, XXII (November, 1901): 574; "Methods of utilizing old street cars," *Scientific American*, LXXXIV (June 29, 1901): 409; Sarah Comstock, "Carville," *Four Track News*, January, 1906, p. 50.
12. Jane Sudekum, "Sunset-Sandlot," *San Francisco News*, April 8, 1947, p. 13.
13. "The settlement of Carville," *Country Life in America*, XI (March, 1907): 492.
14. *San Francisco Directory*, 1900, p. 1471.
15. J. K., "Carville; a quaint village of abandoned street cars on the edge of the Pacific," *The Wave*, September 11, 1897, p. 4.
16. Mrs. Fremont Older, "The story of a reformer's wife," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXIII (July, 1909): 291.
17. In fact, a fair sampling of the city's rolling stock, including a small electric trolley, has appeared in Carville, as each item became obsolete.
18. Gibbs Adams, "A city of cars," *Overland Monthly*, LII (November, 1908): 399.
19. O'Brien, "Passing of Carville," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1908, p. 12.
20. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1913, p. 38.
21. The brown shingled house at 1415 Forty-seventh Avenue remains, but the cars were removed during remodeling, probably because of the low ceiling where they were joined. An interior photograph appeared in Sudekum, "Sunset-Sandlot," April 8, 1947, p. 13.
22. Sudekum, "Sunset-Sandlot," *San Francisco News*, April 7, 1947, p. 13.



Young Leland Stanford, Jr., scion of wealth in a gilded age.

Boy in a Gilded Age

Heir to a golden spike rather than the proverbial silver spoon, Leland DeWitt Stanford was born the fourteenth day of May, 1868, in Sacramento. One year later his father, president of the Central Pacific Railroad and former governor of California, drove home the symbolic golden nail that completed the first railroad link between East and West. Stanford's iron rails carried commerce which eventually produced far greater wealth than all the gold of the mother lode from which the spike was made.

Leland, Jr., if he is remembered at all, is known only as the would-be heir of indulgent and fabulously rich parents who founded a university in his name after he died of typhoid fever in 1884. The image is accurate, as far as it goes. Leland's father and mother felt the joy of all new parents, excusably intensified by the boy's arrival after eighteen years of childless marriage. Without question young Leland was given every advantage that loving parents, wealth, and influence allowed. But he made good use of his talents and opportunities and was on the way to becoming a well rounded and exceptionally well informed young man when his life ended.

As an estimate of his character, the flood of eulogies after Leland's death, overly sentimental even for the day, can perhaps be dismissed. However, his numerous letters, written from age eleven and continuing until his death just before his sixteenth birthday, give an intimate glimpse of the thoughts and doings of a young scion of wealth in an age now past. To the extent that a child is a reflection of his parents, Leland's letters also reveal something of the character of his father and mother, both of whom won a permanent place in the history of the West. The letters of Leland, his mother Jane, and Leland, Sr.—manuscripts upon which this essay is based—are housed in the Stanford University Archives.

The first direct reference to young Leland appears in a letter written by Jane Stanford from San Francisco to her husband in Sacramento. She had taken her infant son from their home to the Bay City to be vaccinated by a

family friend and physician, Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, against a raging smallpox epidemic. The best available medical attention of that day could not prevent secondary infection and abscess formation, and, consequently, mother and son spent a restless night. Dr. Stillman's advice of a hot bath and a small gin sling for the infant apparently brought three hours of needed sleep, followed by the rupture of his vaccination abscess and recovery. Before being taken home young Leland was subjected to the unconscious indignity to which all infants, rich or poor, have to submit; namely, that of being scrutinized at bathtime by an admiring friend of the family. "A remarkably fine child," the beaming mother was told, "so well made and handsome."

The Stanford heir's perambulator years probably differed little from those of any other baby whose parents could afford a nanny and every other luxury to make life pleasant. In 1873 the head offices of the Central Pacific Railroad were moved from Sacramento to San Francisco, and the Stanford family followed, living in a rented house while awaiting the completion of their magnificent mansion on Nob Hill. They traveled East in 1876 to visit the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and the eight-year-old boy was particularly drawn to the mechanical exhibits and handmade articles. His father bought him a wood-carving set, and some time later a few of Leland's artifacts were considered good enough to be displayed at the Mechanics' Pavilion in San Francisco.

The Stanford University Museum's exhibit of Leland's playthings and other possessions, including historical and archaeological objects he collected for his private display and some of his own paintings, indicate that the young Stanford was a boy of wide interests and consid-

Dr. Nagel, emeritus clinical professor of surgery, Stanford University School of Medicine, is the author of a number of books and articles about western and medical history. His most recent book is *Jane Stanford: Her Life and Letters* (1975), published by the Stanford Alumni Association.

*Fascinated by things mechanical,
Leland sketched a steam engine for his
miniature railroad at the family home
and stock farm in Palo Alto.*

erable talent. In his own hardwood-finished schoolroom in his San Francisco home, young Leland learned his lessons from an able tutor, Herbert C. Nash, who became his good companion and a lifelong family friend. (Leland enrolled in only one regular course of instruction, a brief class in accounting at Heald's Business College in San Francisco.) Despite the pampered surroundings and the absence of classroom competition, Leland learned rapidly. Mathematics and history were his favorite studies, and his gift for languages soon resulted in fluency in both French and German.

In 1877 nine-year-old Master Leland DeWitt Stanford hosted the first elaborate social event held in the new Stanford home—a Christmas reception and dance. Social columnists proclaimed it to be the first of its kind in San Francisco and waxed eloquent over the party's brilliance and charm. The young couples invited, together with their parents or guardians, numbered 150. Promptly at two in the afternoon, the carriages began rolling up to the driveway to the east entrance where footmen assured the ease and safety of the alighting guests.

To lend effect to the afternoon party, all the blinds in the house were drawn and the gas chandeliers lit, creating an illusion of evening obligingly heightened by a dark and blustery December day. Inside, all was warm and bright. The rustle of the party dresses of the early guests was drowned out as more arrived, and the house's halls resounded to the chatter and laughter of youthful voices. Leland was assisted in receiving by his mother and an aunt, Miss Lathrop.

Professor Lunt, a dancing master, acted as the master of ceremonies. At his word the ballroom became a kaleidoscope of movement and color, framed by a plentiful number of admiring but watchful chaperons. Night was approaching as the last waltz ended the scene of gaiety and splendor.

The occasion of Leland's party gave newspaper reporters an opportunity to say something of the lad, who, it was fair to presume, would some day inherit vast

wealth and its accompanying responsibilities. Leland at age nine was large for his age, handsome, and unspoiled. His education was described as sensible and practical, with emphasis on basic skills which would allow for later development in accordance with his own inclination. He would be given, it was hoped, an opportunity to follow his marked predilection for engineering and mechanism. Nevertheless, as one writer observed:

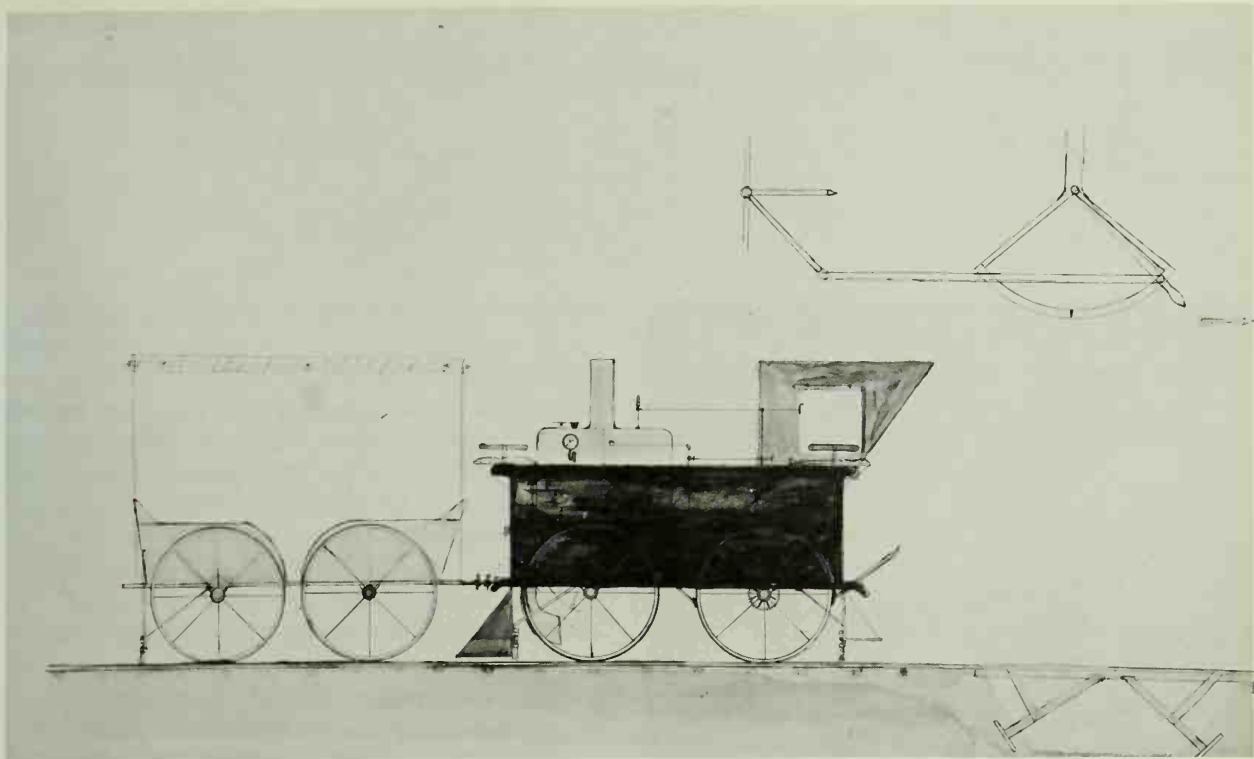
"Though Leland DeWitt is the heir to the Stanfords, the Governor believes in bringing up his boy in the spirit of self-dependence, so that if the father's riches do be-wing themselves, the son will be able to take care of himself."

It was not long after this Christmas occasion that Leland DeWitt, with growing love and admiration for his father, asked that his name be changed to Leland Stanford, Jr.

His princely mode of living notwithstanding, Leland, Jr., managed to enjoy just being a boy. His scores of letters to friends and relatives tell of his boyhood activities, his interests, his developing skills, and always of his love and concern for his parents.

On a trip East with his mother in 1879, for example, he wrote to his friend Wilsie: "Mama came downstairs to day and plaid on the piano. I have sent for my boat. We had a delightful trip on the Sierra Nevadas we had a foot of snow. Wellington [*a friend*] and I had snow balling to our hearts content our fingers were numb for a half an hour afterwards. Affectionately yours, Leland Stanford, Jr."

From Albany, New York, where the boy and his mother were visiting her family, he again wrote to Wilsie: "Hoping you are well we take pleasure in writing a lot of gab to you not knowing what else to say." He then spoke of his bicycle, a Columbia, and continued: "I fell on the ice and hurt my nose. I have got a dog and



have splendid times with him. Next door is Mr. Burns, our butcher, he tells me all about the war. . . . Tada la loo until again. With love from my dog, Wellington, and myself I remain yours, Leland Stanford."

A month later on March 30, 1880, he had added experiences to relate: "Dear Friend Wilsie: I have been collecting a great many stamps to show you when I get home. I must not forget to tell you of my pet roadster, my bicycle. . . . The boys here have formed a bicycle club. . . . We have eight bicycles in the club, and have a captain, bugler, and secretary. We have badges made of ten cent pieces with the initials of the club A. Bi. C. engraved on them." Switching to the subject of his dog, Tootsy, he wrote: "She is a rowdy for sure, the other day she ate up my pigeons." Leland closed with an admonition: "The first of April will soon be here, I hope you will not have many tricks played upon you."

Two years later the fourteen-year-old Stanford wrote from New York, and with growing sophistication yet youthful boastfulness he informed his friend that for a whole week he had not been to bed before midnight. "This will show you that we have been very gay, it has been one theatre after the other, Patti, Mrs. Langtry,

Chas. Wyndham, et al (this is Latin). . . . I don't think Mrs. Langtry is so pretty because she is so thin."

Outgrowing his childhood toys and activities, Leland became interested in workable machines which he could use. At the family home and stock farm at Palo Alto, he was able to indulge his mechanical bent and demonstrate his entrepreneurship by building a miniature railroad. For the technical assistance he received, he gave polite thanks: "Mr. J. T. Wilson, Dear Sir: I am very much pleased with my car. I did not expect it would be so light and handy as it is. I am now laying the track and hope to have it completed and in running order by the last of the week, and I thank you very much for the pains you have taken to please me. Respectfully yours, Leland Stanford, Junior."

To an eastern friend, Leland wrote that when the friend next visited California, Leland would be able to give him a ride on his own railroad. The track was to reach from the house to the stable, but an extension was already planned. Leland also envisioned an adjacent machine shop. Addressing Mr. Wilson again, he wrote: "I am very anxious to have a small boiler made for a little stationary engine. I have seen Mr. Benson, foreman of



Mature for his years, Leland worried a great deal about his parents, Jane and Leland, Sr., who suffered from chronic ailments.

the boiler shop, and he tells me he can make what I want for about \$15, but he needs your authorization." Even amid the glamour and shifting scenes of his travels abroad, Leland's thoughts and plans were often back in California. From London he wrote to Miss Lizzie Hull, a favorite correspondent: "Mama and Papa have promised to give me a complete machine shop at Palo Alto when we get home."

Travel was a way of life with the Stanfords, and the year 1880 found Jane and her twelve-year-old son on an educational and pleasure tour of Europe. Jane's letters to her husband contain many references to their son, and she especially noted his eagerness to view the countless art treasures and historic sites and his surprising discrimination of their worth. Leland's developing language fluency was also apparent. From Brussels Mrs. Stanford wrote: "Here everyone speaks French, so now he begins as naturally to use it as if he had always spoken it—he astonishes me."

That Leland was an observing, imaginative boy was readily apparent. Before visiting the battlefield of Waterloo, he read its history and dreamed of finding bullets in the ground. He wanted to stand on the very spot where Wellington had stood. "Mama," he said, "it is not what you see there but it is what you take there that makes it interesting; otherwise it would not be anything but a wheat field perhaps." Jane observed, "I think Leland is far ahead of his years in good sense."

In the fashion of the day, Young Leland kept a log. In Brussels, he entered the note: "Spent the day sight seeing. Went to the Musee Wirtz, a most curious collection of modern pictures, one of Napoleon in Hell." On another occasion he wrote his father from Nice: "We left Paris on Monday last for Lyons where we stopped one day. We went to the silk factory to see them weave the silk pictures—saw them weaving a picture of Lincoln." He then described the procedure in detail, drew a rough illustrating sketch, and commented, "Lyons is a very dirty city."

Travel being leisurely, the Italian journey found Leland's mother reading aloud from *The Last Days of Pompeii*. When he and his mother first sighted the red glare and smoke of Vesuvius against the darkening evening sky, Leland "went wild with excitement." In Rome they witnessed King Humbert's magnificent birthday parade with its martial music, flags, and soldiers, and they were fascinated that the king's horse looked exactly like their own horse, Onward. Received by Pope Leo XIII, Jane wrote that she was "amused to see Leland put the pope's hand to his mouth and kiss the ring as all the others did." Leland requested several rosaries to be blessed for friends.

Despite the excitement of new adventures, as the weeks went by without the expected arrival of Stanford, Sr., mother and son grew increasingly lonesome. The boy accordingly addressed his father: "I hope dear Papa you will come to us soon we are very tired of being here without you. Mama gets dreadfully homesick. From your loving son, Leland D. Stanford." When the pressure of railroad affairs continued to prevent Mr. Stanford from joining them, they finally returned home.

In 1883 the Stanford family was established for some time in New York. Friend Wilsie received another letter from Leland asking him to "write me about my puppies and tell me if they are well. . . . I have not been to the theatre often because I have been sick for ten days with a cold." Continuing on, Leland expanded on the hazards of winter driving in the city:

Papa has been nearly run away with twice. Once the breeching was too long and let the sleigh on the horses heels, and once with a team that had never been in a large city. Then, in the stable, the elevator for hoisting up the carriages to the next floor broke down with the large sleigh on it (the sleigh weighs about 1,000 lbs.) and fell on the coachman's arm and broke both the bones. Besides this, both the new carriages

were run into while standing still, and Tom the coach dog that used to be at San Francisco and Menlo was lost, but we found him again, so you see we have had a hard time of it. I heard about your snow storm and hope you enjoyed it. Here we have a good many of them and don't enjoy them, for half the time it only makes mud and slush. It is snowing now and this time I think it will make sleighing. . . . Ever your friend, Leland.

P. S. Mama has not been at all well.

In June of 1883, the complete Stanford family set off together for Europe aboard the R. M. S. *Germanic*. Both of Leland's parents were ill, and they hoped that the trip would give them a needed rest and change, in addition to enlarging young Leland's cultural horizons. In a shipboard letter to his Aunt Kate, he wrote: "Papa has not improved as much as we hoped for, he has suffered a great deal nights. . . . Mama has not been well at all, she has only been to the table twice and she has had a great deal of pain in her head and eyes, they have been bandaged half the time. I hope you will write to Mama often and keep her cheered up and write me about Toots."

Health matters had evidently improved by the time the family reached England. In a letter to his friend Miss Hull he wrote of viewing the sights of London from a hansom and from the tops of buses. In the telling he revealed a youthful eye for the ladies and confessed to a show of temper: "Yesterday we saw the most beautiful girl Mr. Nash or I ever saw, she was very handsome and very well dressed. N. admits it. Owing to our natural sweetness of temper we have only had one row since we came. That was over the head of Count Corti, and Italian ambassador (the one sent to the Berlin congress), whose room was underneath. I think he thought Bedlam was let loose."

During this trip abroad, Leland's last, his parents' recurring ailments brought him concern and responsibilities which he shouldered manfully. Still he managed to do his daily lessons, see the sights, and, when things were looking up a bit, even have some fun.



Account		frs. c.
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September 27	To Gaufré	194 70
"	Liquor	10
"	Picture	50
"	Purse	1 50
"	Panorama	2 40
"	Annette	4 30
"	do	10
"	Punch & Judy	05
"	Eggs	20
"	Pinell	30
Oct: 1	Spent in Galleries	2 10
"	Cash spent	76
"	Spent	10
"	Paints & brushes	1
"	Chairs	3 10
"	Fida water	2 51
"	Candy	1
"	Spent	1
"	Liquor	25
"	Prussian helmet	18
446		
— No carry over —		fr 258 90

In 1880-81, Leland accompanied his mother on a tour of Europe. He kept a photographic journal (top), which contained his image of an entrance to a French cathedral (left), and a record of his finances, including his expenditures in Paris.

Mrs. Stanford suffered from periodic inflammation of her eyes, a painful ailment which often necessitated staying in a darkened room. Unable to read or write when sick, she experienced spells of depression. Mr. Stanford endured violent head and back pains and weakness of his legs which often made walking difficult. Finding the best medical care for these diverse afflictions made separation of the family members obligatory. Mrs. Stanford and Leland were alternately in Paris and Havre, France, while Mr. Stanford rested at Bad Kissingen in Bavaria and Bad Homburg near Frankfurt. From the Hotel Bristol in Paris, Leland addressed his Aunt Kate on August 2, 1883: "Mama can not write or read yet. . . . Yesterday the Doctor said that all Mama's sickness came from blood poisoning, and he said it was queer that the Doctor's in N. Y. did not see it when the rash came out on her head and she had all these fainting spells."

Possibly seeking a quieter spot, but one with medical attention still readily available, the boy and his mother moved to Havre. Leland informed his father: "I write to tell you how we like this place. It has rained every day since we arrived. The wind blows and whistles around this hotel all the time, and the waves keep up a continual roar on the big stones that cover the beach. Dr. Brown Sequard [*a renowned physician and neurologist*] says he likes it here because the sun never shines here."

Leland's days were fully occupied. Despite the inclement weather, he swam frequently and told his father he was trying to imitate Captain Webb, the first man to swim the English Channel. His studies were not neglected. "I work three hours in the morning with Mr. Nash and one hour in the afternoon with my German teacher."

Leland continued to write to his father regularly. When Mrs. Stanford was feeling better, Leland was able to arrange to drive twelve miles into the countryside. "We had quite a time coming home, the coachman drank too much wine at the hotel and fell off the box on the return trip but he was not hurt. I have hired a phaeton

and a very old horse, so yesterday evening I took Mama and Miss Hart (of Paris) off for a drive around town. . . . I will write you every day now and tell you how Mama is."

But Mrs. Stanford's ill health continued to plague her, and on August 25, Leland wrote: "This is Mama's birthday, we tried to make it as cheerful and as pleasant as we could. . . . I gave her a bouquet and ivory box and paper cutter. This day is the first Mama has sat in the garden this week." Leland then went on to say that the doctor continued to forbid her to ride in a carriage and that she was forced to stay in a darkened room most of the time. "I wish," he added, "Mama could get away from the Doctors because as soon as she stops their medicine she gets better."

Three days later Leland reported that "the Doctor stopped the Mercury treatment today as her system is filled with it so much so that her rings look like old silver and her mouth and tongue are covered with blisters, she can not eat anything hard. He began the potass treatment again to day in very powerful doses. Mama dreads it. . . . He gives it in such powerful doses that it takes her courage away." Finally, the young lad was himself near exhaustion. "Dear Papa. . . . To night I am so tired I am almost asleep so you will have to excuse the writing, dear Papa." In a faltering hand, he managed to close: "I remain your loving son, Leland."

Perhaps hoping that a change of scene would bring recovery, Jane and Leland returned to Paris, and shortly thereafter Jane's condition did improve. On September 2, 1883, Leland was able to write his father from the Hotel Bristol: "We arrived here at five o'clock yesterday evening after a dusty but not a warm trip. Mama felt so well that at 8 o'clock we went to the Hippodrome and enjoyed ourselves very much. To day we went to the Tuilleries garden to see the Fête for the poor of Paris. It

was one of the worst days we have ever seen here, the wind blew so hard last night that it smashed a good many of the booths and knocked down the largest theatre at the fair." But no sooner was health regained in one quarter than it disappeared in another. "Dear Papa," Leland wrote, "I am sorry to hear that your head is troubling you again. I hope Homburg will do you good."

Jane's ups and downs continued too, and fifteen-year-old Leland remained skeptical of the medical attention she was getting. "The Dr. was here this morning and was excited over Mama's condition. I don't see why because she is exactly as she was yesterday or the day before. Last night we went to the theatre she felt so well. . . . I wish Mama could go to Homburg and take the waters, as the medicine the Doctor gives her takes away her appetite and she says she feels she is growing weaker under the powerful doses. I wish we were all home at Palo Alto, I think Mama would get quite well there."

Despite his worry about his parents, Leland continued his own activities. In addition to his daily studies with Mr. Nash, he did gymnastic exercises and took an occasional dancing lesson. With other young visitors at the hotel, he sailed boats in the park, and they invented a game in which they pitched stones at toy balloons let loose to catch in the branches of trees. A collector at heart, he wrote: "I have been buying several things for my Museum, and I think that I shall have to enlarge it when I get home."

Like any nineteenth-century boy, Leland was fascinated with things military, and lead soldiers in colorful uniforms were featured among his toys. To his friend Wilsie he had written from London: "There has been a military Tournament at the Agricultural Hall. It was very exciting. The Balaclava melee was great fun, 6 men with white plumes and 6 with red, on bare back horses trying with sticks to knock the plumes off one another's heads—which were covered with strong masks. They beat each other very hard and almost had a fight at the end they got so excited."

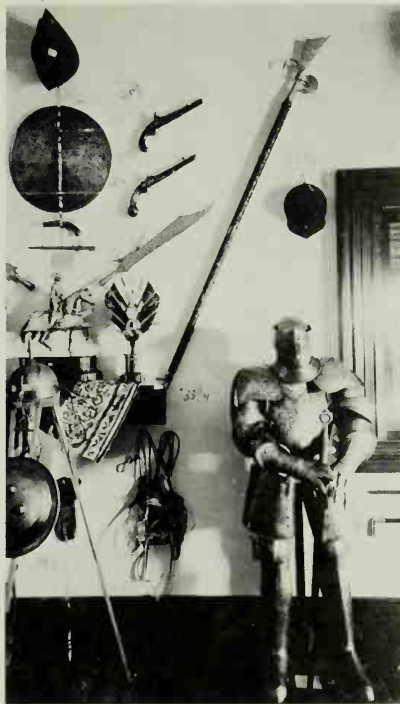
Leland was also thrilled at the sight of Waterloo, which was then regarded by historian Edward Creasy as the last of the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." "I brought back some interesting relics," Leland wrote, "a bayonet and two rifle balls picked up on the field and a piece of the stone fence of Hougomont."

With the military images still in his mind, it was small wonder that he expressed the wish to visit Homburg, the place where his father was taking the waters. To his Aunt Kate he later wrote: "We have been spending a week with Papa at Homburg. . . . I enjoyed it very much as Emperor William of Germany, King Alfonso of Spain, King Milan of Servia, the King of Saxony, the Prince of Wales, the Crown Prince of Germany, the Duke of Cambridge (uncle of the Queen of England), and General Von Moltke were there to attend the Autumn Maneuvers. There were thirty-two thousand soldiers. We went to the parade and sham battle which was very interesting."

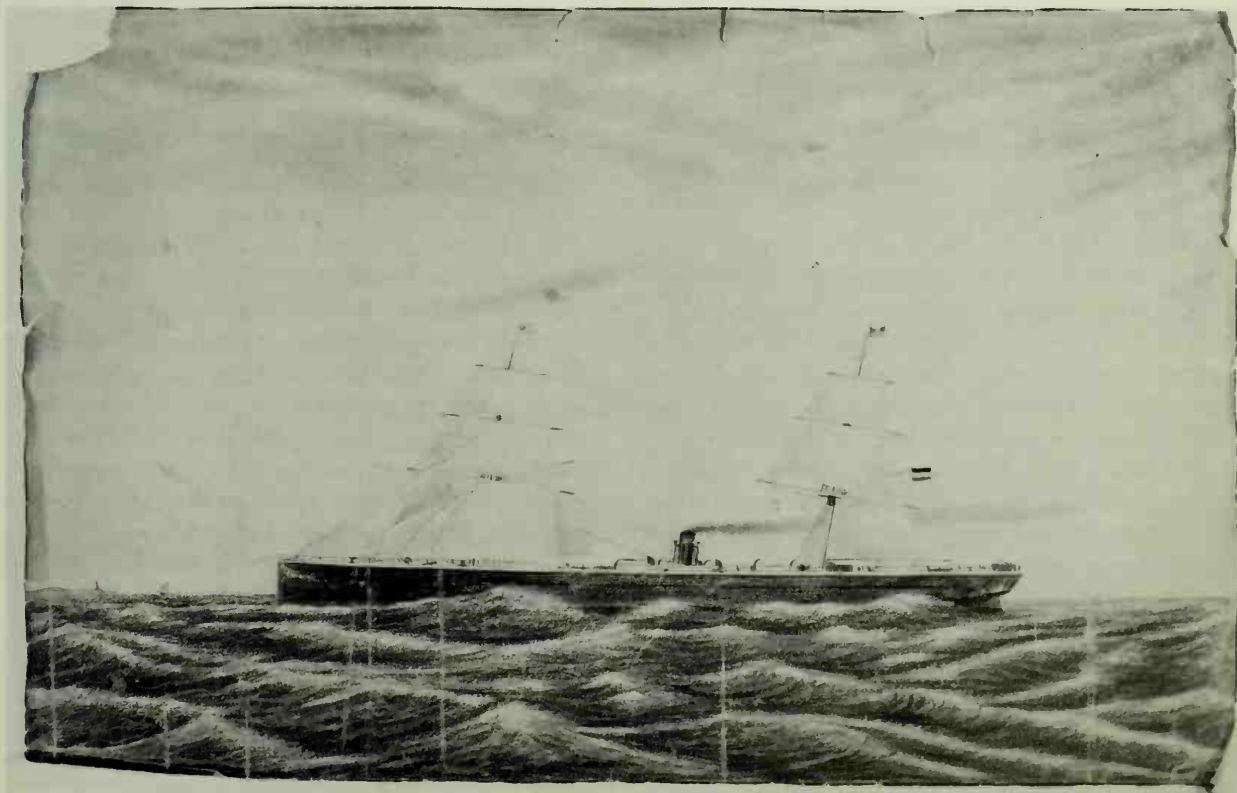
During his travels Leland made no mention of receiving any formal religious instruction, but visits to the great cathedrals were a part of seeing the sights. The spire in Cologne, he noted, was 532 feet high. His curiosity was aroused by the supposed remnants of the bones of the 40,000 virgins massacred by the barbarians, but of the other religious relics he commented that "they are chiefly interesting to Roman Catholics."

With the worst of their troubles apparently over, the family was again united in July of 1883, and they thoroughly enjoyed a steamer trip up the Rhine with its banks of terraced vineyards and picturesque ruined castles. Young Leland found the Rheinstein and Drachenfels the most alluring. Debarking at Bingen, they stayed at the Hotel Victoria on the river bank. "Here," he wrote, "thanks to my racing from the steamer before any one could come up, we had very nice rooms."

Leaving Bingen they returned briefly to Homburg. There it was not the crowned heads and generals that attracted Leland, as on his former visit, but he received a



The ever-curious Leland documented the sights he saw in Europe. He sketched a steamship in chalk (below) and collected unusual objects including military paraphernalia for his museum room in the Stanford house in San Francisco.



Leland's last letter, written in February, 1884, and displaying a shakier hand than usual, described his adventures in Constantinople and Athens. He mentioned that both he and his mother were not feeling well again, and less than a month later Leland died at the age of fifteen.

warm greeting nevertheless. "I was very glad to find my old friend the dog Max, who seemed as glad to see me as I was to see him. I immediately took him out for a walk in the Park, he bounding and barking with delight when I let him loose."

Though traveling, Leland's studies remained important. From Baden he wrote: "Had my lessons in the morning, and afterwards stayed indoors as I had taken cold. I read *The Young Voyagers*." Leland's favorite books were stories of adventure, travel, and exploration, and he occasionally wrote marginal comments when some topic struck his fancy. The proprietor of their hotel gave him a cuirassier's or cavalryman's helmet and some bullets, relics from a battlefield of the Franco-Prussian war. "They will prove valuable additions to my museum," noted Leland.

The young man was rapidly growing up, and as befitting a Stanford son, he began developing a sense of business values and acumen. After visiting Bordeaux to see the wine-making industry, he informed his uncle Ariel Lathrop that the vines were flourishing and not being destroyed by blight as had been rumored. Displaying an interest in prices and productivity, he wrote: "The La Petti vineyard, 750 acres in size, was sold to Mr. Rothschild at auction for over \$7,000 an acre, and it takes a man and one half to an acre. . . . The net income is from three to four hundred thousand dollars per annum." In addition he acknowledged the good news from the Palo Alto stable: "Papa has just received your cablegram telling of Bonita's success at Lexington. The unusual success of the horses pleased us very much."

Leland's letters continued as the family crisscrossed Europe. On December 25, 1883, he wrote to Aunt Kate from Vienna: "It looks like Christmas here for it is snowing pretty hard. . . . I will write you another letter from Constantinople and tell you about the wily Turk. . . . I expect to get a good many things for my Museum. I only make a collection of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman."

A long letter from Naples to Miss Hull, dated February 11, 1884, fairly bubbled with the enthusiasm of a youth who was seeing and doing extraordinary things. After leaving London and Paris, he wrote, the family had gone to Nice where he had a very enjoyable time, because the American fleet was at Villefranche where they gave dances every Thursday. A journey to Constantinople by easy stages was then decided upon. Their first stop was Venice where, three evenings in succession, they floated by gondola, accompanied by a boat of singers, to the Rialto. Next, they spent ten days including Christmas in Vienna, attending an opera almost every night. New Year's found them snowbound in Bucharest, Romania, until a sleigh took them over the river ice to a small island in the Danube. From there they crossed the river in an open boat amid floating ice to Roustchouk, Bulgaria, where the train for Varna was waiting.

Arriving in Constantinople, the Stanfords agreed they were in the strangest country they had ever seen. An aide-de-camp of the sultan took them to the royal treasury where they viewed diamonds by the bushel, one emerald as large as a man's hand, bowls full of rubies, emeralds, and pearls, and carpets of gold covered with precious stones. After this dazzling display they were taken to one of the sultan's private kiosks and served coffee in cups with gold holders set with diamonds and a delicious mixture of preserved rose leaves.

Next traveling to Athens, Leland had the thrill of meeting the famous archaeologist Dr. Heinrich Schliemann, who invited him to his private museum and gave him several small fetishes or charms that he had found in the sixth City of Troy. In Leland's closing paragraph of his letter from Athens to Miss Hull, he wrote: "Papa is pretty well except for his stiffness, and he does a great deal of sightseeing. Mama and myself are not well for the present because we have been going it too hard. Mr. Nash lost his valise in crossing the Danube, and now anything that can't be found happened to be in that. It must have been as large as Noah's Ark and contained the



Naples Feb. 11 1884

Dear Miss Hall

I have seen lots of things since I wrote to you last. We went to Nice after leaving Paris and had a very enjoyable time as the American Fleet was at Villefranche and they gave dances every Thursday. From Nice we determined to go to Constantinople. We stopped at Venice five days and had

the cross after it is Mr Nash's work.

Mr Nash lost his valise in crossing the Danube and now any thing that can't be found happened to be in that, it must have been as large a Noah's ark and contained the treasures of the Indies. We are all sorry to hear that you are sick and hope you will be well soon.

Best wishes from all and love from me
Leland

P.S. I had a letter from Annie yesterday. They are all well. The we ~~are~~ with

treasures of the Indies. We are all sorry to hear that you are sick and hope you will be well soon. Best wishes from all and love from me. Leland."

In the telling of his adventures, Leland had relived the thrill and exhilaration, but having finished, he became unnaturally listless. A nagging headache was a disagreeable new experience for him, and his mother grew concerned and anxious to get him home. Her fears proved justified, for her boy was suffering with the long prodromal symptoms of typhoid fever. A few weeks later, on the thirteenth day of March, 1884, Leland Stanford, Jr., died in Florence, Italy.

What followed is well known. Young Leland's part in establishing Stanford University was, of course, purely passive unless one gives credence to his distraught father's dream in which his dead son exhorted him not to languish but to work thereafter for humanity. Some eight years

after the lad's death, Senator Stanford reminisced: "I want to better humanity. I used to teach our boy to always be sure and so conduct himself as to respect himself, then he would be pretty sure to be happy. I think he never forgot that. He was a truthful boy, too, and did not care to read books that were not true, and it is very important what books boys read. . . . I have been thinking about our boy and how sad that he was taken away from us, but how much worse it would have been if we never had had him." Through the means of the great university that bears his name, the world of learning is the richer for young Leland Stanford's short stay on earth.

Leland's drawings and photographs are from the Stanford University Museum of Art. The family portrait and the letters are from the Stanford University Archives.

The Crooked-Neck Horse and the



Winding Placer County roads followed streams being worked by prospectors.

Side-Wheel Mule



Teamsters to the mines of California in the 1850's and '60's developed the art and science of hauling heavy loads to a pinnacle that was the wonder of knowledgeable visitors from the Old and New Worlds alike. The requirements, real and fancied, of a quarter-million miners with gold in their pockets and a mountain range to turn upside down combined with the robust spirit of the people and the times to create a transport system that reached from the remotest gulch of the Sierra to the ends of the earth and reduced all previous arrangements in the history of commerce to the status of fumbling preludes.

The California clippers revolutionized sea trades while such sparkingly profitable monopolies as the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the California Steam Navigation Company, and the California Stage Company engaged the attention and admiration of an upcoming generation of entrepreneurs. And out at the end of the line, the Stockton wagons rolled out from the levees at Marysville and Sacramento and Stockton with those hundreds of thousands of tons of picks and shirts and carpet tacks (not to mention baking powder and champagne) that had come around the Horn or across the Isthmus.

While the clipper ships have been celebrated to the point of myth, and the stages and side-wheelers have attracted scholarly as well as popular attention, the men and beasts who provided a crucial link in what our astronautical age would call "the life-support systems" slipped into the oblivion of the obvious, together with other critical social technologies, such as the method of printing and distributing election ballots.

Indeed, in some fifty-six years the term "mule" has infrequently disgraced the pages of the California Historical Society's far-ranging magazine, if one is to judge by the indexes, and while "teamster" must assuredly have been mentioned somewhere, at least in connection with Denis Kearney's credentials as a workingman, it seems not to have attained the status of a subject heading. In a movement to correct this deficiency, we present one of the several California teamster

Nancy Olmsted is the author of the Sierra Club's trail guide to the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, *To Walk With a Quiet Mind*. Roger Olmsted is co-author of the recently-published history of San Francisco, *Mirror of the Dream*.

yarns that J. A. Filcher preserved as a characteristically curious public service in a privately printed paperback volume of 1903 titled *Untold Tales of California*. In the authors' copy is a letter of 1922 from Filcher to A. M. Robertson, San Francisco publisher and bookseller, written in a hand that had begun to tremble. The author avers that there are no more books left.

While one must naturally treat with some suspicion the yarns of a genuine old-time California raconteur, it must be held that Filcher knew his subject. He came across the plains with his family in 1859, when he was at the observant age of fourteen, settled in Yuba County, and was "owner and editor" of the *Placer Herald* in Auburn in the days when memories of the golden years were still green. Later, he promoted California's future in citrus farming and developed a celebrated taste for managing exhibitions and fairs. He told stories, and finally he wrote some of them down. Herewith the reader will find Filcher's introduction to "Teamster Stories" followed by the tale of the horse and the mule (edited very slightly for internal consistency and conformity with other sources). The story should be read out loud, with free lunch and steam beer.

* * *

In the early days teaming in California was a science. The principal population was in the mines, and all the supplies of machinery, tools and provisions had to be freighted by pack trains or wagons from the nearest river points across the valleys and up the mountain grades or trails to the diggings. Teamsters and packers had neither unions nor trusts, yet they commanded practically their own prices and made money. The wealth thus easily earned was lavished on fine mules, big horses, and new wagons. A rivalry existed as to who should possess the finest outfit. The four-animal team grew in a short while to six animals, the six-animal team to one of eight animals, the eight to ten, and the ten to twelve. This was the limit, as a greater number could not be worked to advantage on the turns of the mountain grades. Indeed, with

more than six animals it was found necessary to have two wagons, one fastened close behind the other and called in those days "a back action." On short turns these wagons were hauled around one at a time. They were also hauled separately up the steepest hills. Each enlargement of the team involved a new wagon, and each new wagon must have all the latest improvements known in those days to the art of wagon-building.

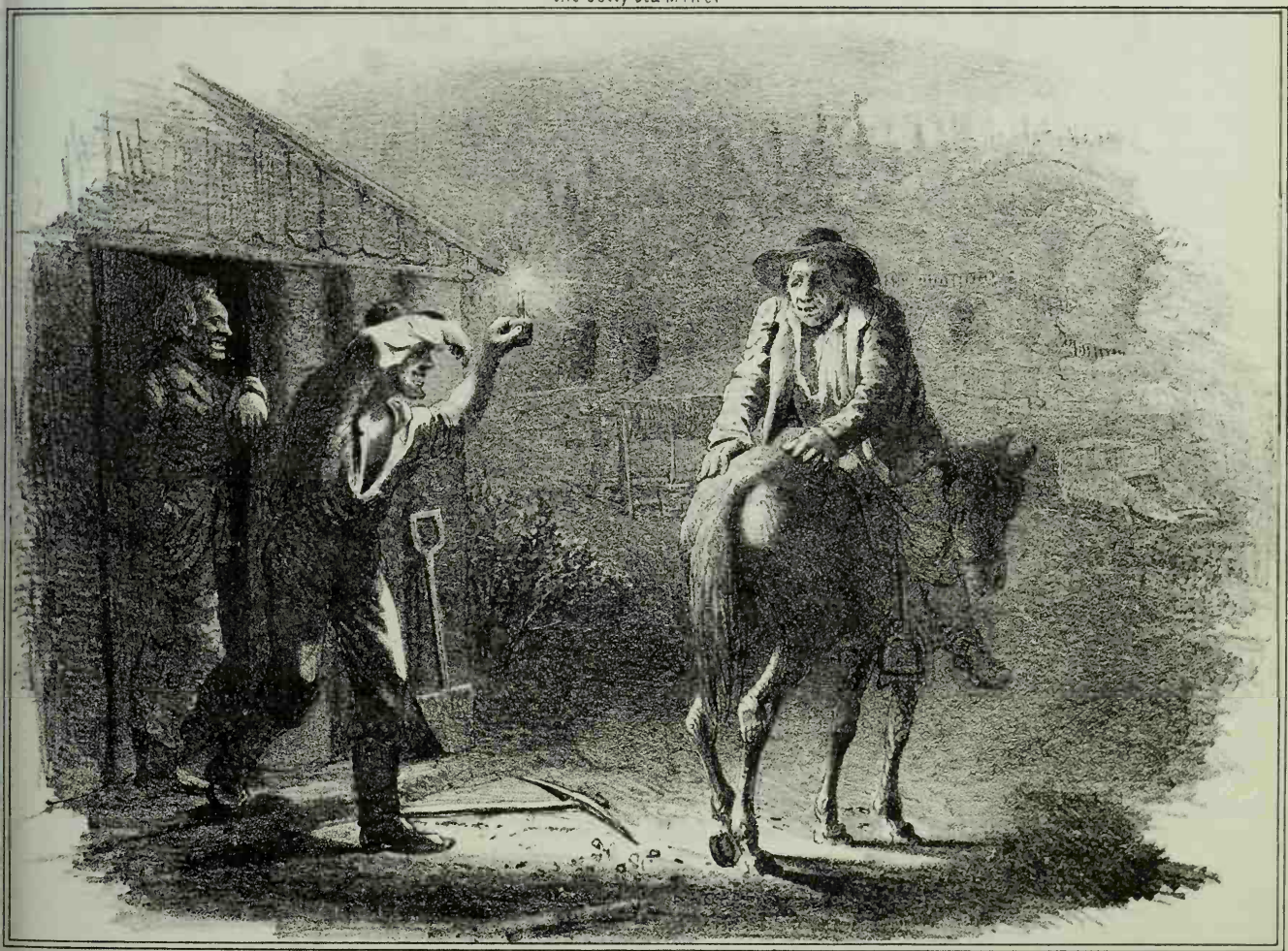
The ambition to excel in the ownership of the biggest or finest mules or horses ran the price of such animals to fabulous figures. A thousand dollars a mule was sometimes paid, and there were instances where an extra-choice animal brought as high as \$1200, \$1400, or even \$1500.

Next to fine mules and a fine wagon the teamster prided himself on fine trappings. Each bridle must be adorned on the side with a fox tail and have a forehead flap decorated with a bright metal star. Bearskin housing covered the hames, and the hames were surmounted with a set of bells. These teams were driven invariably with a single or "jerk" line. It can be imagined that a teamster thus equipped was a very proud man.

There were three grades of aristocracy in California in those days. First and foremost came the river steamboat captain; he was a bigger man than anybody. Next to the steamboat captain was the stage driver; in the interior away from river points the latter held sway. Next to the stage driver was the teamster. Of course there were degrees of nobility among the teamsters, varying according to the number and size of the animals and the newness and "chuck" of the iron-axle wagon. The teamster with only four ordinary horses was tolerated by the duke who drove twelve mules and had a red wagon, and bearskins, fox tails, and bells, because the former belonged to the same fraternity and was liable to promotion, but between the mule drivers and the ox teamsters (bull whackers as they were called), there was an impassable barrier.

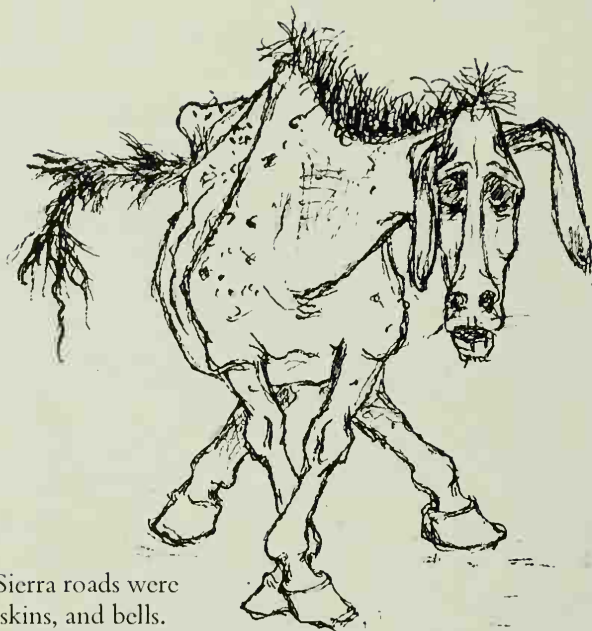
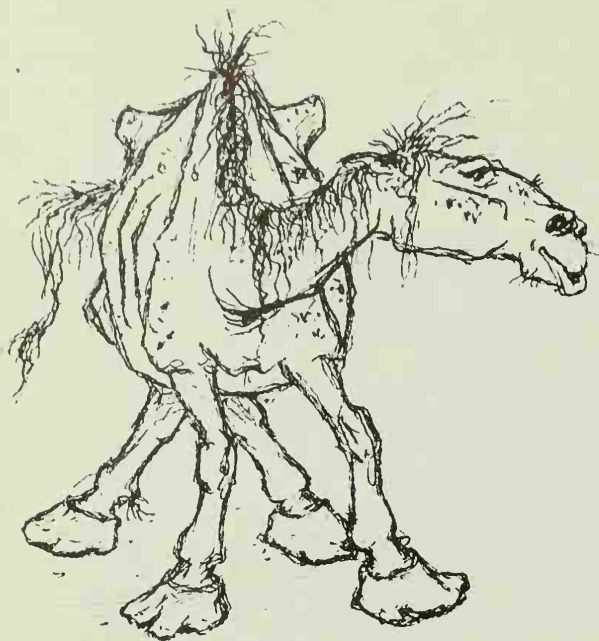
* * *

The Jolly old Miner



Lith. & Pub. by Britton & Rey.

What!—Jim!..Come home tight again?—
No, I an't tight: I've been knockt of my horse and robbed, and after robbing
me, they put me on my horse again and cut his head off!.....



It must not be supposed, of course, that all the teams on the Sierra roads were composed of fine animals and decorated with fox tails, bearskins, and bells. On the contrary, there were some very shabby outfits in the mines. The ambition to be a teamster, stimulated by the demand for freighters and the money to be made in the business, prompted some parties with limited means to make a start with any kind of an old rig until their accumulations would enable them to do better. Old creaky wagons were patched up and old broken-down horses and mules were gathered together and made to do service. As may be supposed, the drivers of such combinations were the butt of a great deal of ridicule.

Now, it happened that two of the very worst of such makeshift teams met one night by accident in the yard at Bishop's Hotel, near Auburn.

In one team was a horse that from general appearances might have been turned out to pasture by Sir Francis Drake when he first landed on the shores of the Pacific, and in the other was a mule that from the length of his teeth and the wrinkles over his eyes appeared old enough to have seen service with Father Kino.

The horse had suffered many ailments and carried the marks and scars of hard usage. His ribs stood out like lattice on the windows of a country house; his saw-tooth back was covered with scabs and sores; he had a poke neck, cracked hoofs, and swollen joints; a different limp in each leg gave him a wobbly, winding motion which, added to the side crook in his neck, left you in doubt as to the direction he was going.

The scars on the mule, if possible, were more numerous than on the horse.

One of his legs had been broken and set crooked, so that the toe of his shoe had to be built on the side of the foot. One eye was knocked out and there was a scum over the other. His ears lopped down by the side of his head, one falling forward and the other backward; several ribs were broken in, which gave to his breathing a sound not unlike the combined snore of ten tired miners.

It further happened that the owners of these two animals were watering them that evening at the same trough. The men were strangers to each other. As the creatures drank, the man with the mule was looking at the horse, and the man with the horse was looking at the mule. Finally the silence was broken by the mule man, who said:

"Stranger, that horse of yours looks like he might have been brought here by General Sutter."

"I guess he was," replied the horse man, "but if looks are what you go by, your mule must have been owned by Columbus."

"You mean to stand there and say that my mule is older than your horse?" asked the mule man with some show of feeling.

"Of course he is," confidently replied the horse man, giving his animal an affectionate swap on his boney rump.

"Well, there's one sure thing. Your horse can't outpull my mule." No sooner had he said it than the mule stopped drinking and swung his ancient head back to look at the stranger with his good eye.

"I don't know about that," retorted the horse man.

"See here, stranger," said the other, "this mule can outpull your old horse any day in the week, any place you name, and—" here he paused dramatically, "for any amount you care to name."

The owner of the horse appeared to think this over. "He might outpull him but he can't outrun him. I'll wager that."

"Yes, he can outrun your horse, too!" replied the owner of the mule, defiantly.

"I'll bet you a hundred dollars he can't."

"You will?" said the mule man, "How far do you want to run?"

"Any old distance you want to, from one mile to one hundred."

"All right," agreed the mule owner, "I'll bet you \$100 and put up the money that my mule can beat your horse from here to Sacramento and back."

"Money talks," replied the owner of the horse. "Come right over to the bar and we'll put up the stakes."

As they entered the hotel, each jingling a handful of twenties, the landlord and the assembled teamsters were at once eager to know the cause for the display of so many double eagles.

Auburn, hub of mining activity in the 1860's

This was explained in a few words to the innkeeper, who agreed to hold the stakes and announced to the house the terms of the approaching contest. The teamsters in the house, with money in their pockets and always ready to encourage anything that promised some diversion, were immediately as much interested in the controversy as the principals themselves. They at once began to take sides, and never were racers more carefully scrutinized or more thoroughly discussed by parties desiring to wager on their merits than were those old crowbaits by the teamsters and others who assembled in the bar-room at Bishop's wayside inn on that balmy September evening.

It was agreed that the race should come off in one week, on a day when it would be convenient for both to meet again at the same place. Each animal must be ridden or driven by its owner. They were to start on signal from the plaza in Auburn, go to Sacramento, 'round the Ninth Street park, and return to Auburn. The distance from Auburn to Sacramento is 35 miles, making the race 70 miles.

The news of this proposed event spread rapidly in all directions. Most of the teamsters and wayside tavern keepers knew the animals, as their scrawny appearance made them objects of interest.

Teamsters had previously discussed the question of the poorest animal on the road but had never been able to agree as to whether this distinction belonged to Mike Beck's horse or George Hudson's mule. There had been no dispute that the title belonged to one or the other, for of all the creatures used in the freighting business there were no others so ungainly or dilapidated. If there was to be a race between scrubs, therefore, it was agreed that these of all others were the animals to compete.

Wherever men met it was the theme of discussion, and all kinds of calculations were made and speculations indulged in as to which would win. Nearly every man in those days was willing to back his judgment with his money, and, as may be supposed, the betting was fast and furious. The sporting fraternity quit their poker games, their monte, and their faro to take a hand in the race, and miners came up from their claims to learn more about the animals and wager their dust on the outcome. As the big day drew nearer, the excitement grew higher and the bets larger. Teamsters made their drives so they could attend, and in some cases laid over one or two or even three days rather than miss the fun.

At length the day came and with it the principals and their steeds. Just then the two most important personages in the country were the crooked-neck horse and the side-wheel mule.

The crowd that collected to see the start numbered thousands, and all





along, between Auburn and Sacramento, the road was lined with people as it never was before or since.

It had been arranged that a relay of riders should accompany the racers to see that all the conditions were executed according to the agreement.

Finally, all was ready, the word given, and away they went; not very fast to be sure, but they went.

The horse was quicker in starting and at once took the lead. They passed up through Chinatown, and at the top of the hill the horse was still leading. A rider who left them at the end of the first mile reported that the mule was gradually falling behind. A similar report came from the five-mile stake, and still later a rider came with the news that when the horse reached the ten-mile post the mule was a good mile in the rear.

All day riders came in with news of the progress of the race, and all reports agreed that the horse was getting further and further ahead.

The backers of the mule grew nervous, while those who had their money on the horse became hilarious. When the mule men attempted to console themselves by reminding the horse men that the race was not ended yet, the latter would respond by offering to double their bets at the rate of two to one. A few of the mule's backers tried to save themselves by hedging, but late in the day there was little mule money at any odds.

It was late in the evening when a courier rode into Auburn on a foaming charger and announced that the horse had rounded the plaza in Sacramento and was two miles on the return before he met the mule. The excitement by this time was running high, and the enthusiasm of the horse men knew no bounds.

In the midst of the hurrah it was proposed to hire a band to go out and meet "The Conquering Hero." A stylish group was put together with a clarinet from Auburn, a flute from Newcastle, a violin rounded up from Rich Bar, a drum from Ophir, and rounded off with a fife and bugle of mysterious origin. A six pounder completed the ensemble. The band began to practice in the yard of the Bishop wayside inn where the historic event had been planned. Drinks poured freely and everyone determined to remain up all night to see the end of the conquest and welcome the winner.

Riders were arriving at frequent intervals, and though they reported very slow progress on the part of the racers, all confirmed the horse's lead. The mule men were subdued and blue. One miner who had \$1000 on the "lop-eared brute" as he called him, with an oath or two in front of the title, said he had been afraid all of the time of "that side-wheel leg," and now he was sure it was going to lose his money.

Six-mule teams hauled needed goods to the foothills, stopping briefly at Garrison's Store in Forest Hill for an itinerant photographer.

As the mountain moon left the sky, in those quiet moments just before dawn, a fresh wind brought the sound of a rider and soon the report that the horse was five miles out of town. At once the word was given and in a few minutes the band and the populace started to meet the victor and escort him home in triumph. The procession passed by the Bloomer Ranch, proceeded over Boulder Ridge and down the Long Valley grade. Between the Old Homestead and the Greenwood Toll House they met the horse and his driver. Then a shout went up that reverberated over the hills and awakened the stillness of the dawn for miles around. The old horse had his nose close to the ground and showed signs of great fatigue. He proceeded very slowly and at frequent intervals stopped as though anxious to give up the contest. At such times the driver, who now walked behind, urged him on, often applying the whip as the only means that would induce a forward movement. With the band in the lead and the horse and his proud owner in the middle of the procession, the throng proceeded slowly but joyously back to Auburn. The cocks crowed along the way and then lapsed into silence at the wonderful sound of the band playing "Sweet Betsy from Pike" and stirring renditions of "Camptown Races" punctuated by the echo of the six-pounder reverberating from mountain ridges through river canyons.

The mule and his driver for the time being seemed to be forgotten. There was only one thought and that was that the horse would win. Indeed, he had already won, or as good as won, in the estimation of the crowd, and what did they care for the mule or what became of him? In the midst of the joy one fellow chanced to remark:

"I wonder where the old mule is about now?"

"I don't know," was the response.

"And I don't care," put in another.

"Suppose we send back and find out," said a third.

"What's the use," put in the fourth, "he may be in Sacramento yet."

"Yes, or dead and in some other sea-port," laughingly remarked the fifth.

Just at this juncture the procession halted.

"What's the matter?" "What have they stopped for?" And other expressions of anxious inquiry immediately arose from a hundred throats.

They were not long in finding out. The horse had stumbled and fallen down. His driver laid on the whip to induce him to rise, but to no avail. Water was sent for but the beast refused to drink. His nose was sponged out and the dust washed from his eyes, and then as many strong men as could get near, after repeated efforts, succeeded in raising him to his feet.

Slowly they nursed him along, a few steps at a time, with a guard on either





side to keep him from falling, an arrangement vigorously protested by the mule betters to no avail. In this way the disorderly procession had just reached the top of the grade when all at once a wheezing and a shuffling sound came from the rear, and as the sound and the shuffle grew nearer it was discovered, to the horror of the horse men, that they were made by the mule and his driver.

There had been shouts and cheers before, but nothing like those which rose from the few mule backers who were in the crowd as that old mule steadily but surely came up and, throwing a cloud of dust at every step with that side-wheel leg, passed the horse and took the lead in the home-stretch.

Sensing a change of sentiment with yet another and different hero, the band deserted the sagging horse and struck up, from their somewhat limited repertory, "Onward Christian Soldiers" (everybody agreed that it was a rousing good tune) to cheer the mule lest she too sag to the dust before a winner could be declared.

Left behind, the horse betters remained to urge the horse along, still hoping that some adversity to the mule might yet enable them to win.

The news of the change of conditions soon reached Auburn. It seemed at first to the mule men too good to be believed. Everybody was aroused, and those who had not gone with the first crowd now turned out to meet the mule.

The old brute was pretty tired—very tired, indeed—but whack after whack by the driver with a big stick along his ribs kept him moving, and finally, with his game leg scraping the ground and his wheezened breath almost drowning the band and the cheers, he stumbled across the starting line, the winner of the race.

The horse lay down again when about a mile from town. His escort, being unable to get him on his feet, proceeded to Auburn without him.

The mule was put in a comfortable stall and carefully cared for; and the next day, by arrangement of those who had won thousands of dollars on him, he was pensioned on a good pasture for life.

The horse did not rise from the place where his friends had left him. Those who went out to see about his welfare came back with the news that he was dead.

There was talk of taking up a collection to have him "preserved just as in life," but the proposal was not well-regarded by the horse men, and his bones lie in an unmarked wayside grave. □

The pen-and-ink sketches were made by Glen Rounds; all other illustrations are from the CHS Library.

the battle for the eight-hour day in san francisco

*San Francisco's structural steelworkers
went out on strike in 1916 for an eight-hour
workday—and the Chamber of Commerce
moved to unify the business community
against unionism.*





One of the most vociferous standoffs between business and labor ever to embroil the city of San Francisco resulted when structural steel workers and the closely related architectural iron workers went out on strike in 1916. Before the conflicts had been resolved, the entire city, including the mayor, the Chamber of Commerce, and the various unions, was involved in what newspapers labeled a “state of war.”¹

Though the structural steel union members may only have numbered around 800, they produced a commodity which was essential to the activities of several thousand other workers—steel for the construction of buildings and bridges. The structural steel workers, as well as the architectural iron workers, were highly skilled craftsmen whose work had been essential to the rebuilding of San Francisco after the earthquake and fire of 1906. Though their numbers declined somewhat after that holocaust, the unions were still large and, unlike other San Francisco unions, relatively free of any association with radical elements.

Events leading to the strike began in April of 1916, when the structural steel workers of the San Francisco Bay Area gave notice to their employers that unless an eight-hour day was implemented they would strike the industry. The laborers set July 10, 1916, as the deadline for the strike, but before that date fifty-four of the sixty-four employing firms in San Francisco readily agreed to adopt the shortened work day. The ten remaining firms—Dyer Brothers, Mortenson Construction Company, Pacific Rolling Mill Company, Ralston Iron Works, Schrader Iron Works, Western Iron Works, Central Iron Works, Vulcan Iron Works, Withington Iron Works, and the Pacific Structural Company—adamantly opposed the change from the nine-hour day. These leaders of the industry even offered to open their

Mr. Levi has degrees in history and teaches in Anchorage, Alaska. He is completing a book on San Francisco's Law and Order Committee.

To maintain the solidarity necessary for a prolonged confrontation, each firm pledged a bond ranging from \$1500 to \$10,000 as a guarantee of cooperation.

books for public scrutiny to show that the proposed change in hours would not be financially feasible.² Producing over 90 percent of the city's structural steel, these ten firms threatened the success of the entire strike.³

Rather than face the unions individually in each factory, the ten agreed to stand together against the unions and the demand for the eight-hour work day. To maintain the solidarity necessary for a prolonged confrontation, each firm pledged a bond ranging from \$1500 to \$10,000 as a guarantee of cooperation. This monolithic confederation, the ten companies believed, could successfully negotiate or lockout the unions.⁴

Certainly the timing of the structural steel strike was inopportune. The year 1916 was economically bleak, and between 1906 and 1916, the average wage in San Francisco had risen only 16 percent while the cost of living had risen 39 percent. (In 1917 it was to rise a staggering 59 percent!) As the economic situation became more and more inflationary, the unions began pressing for higher wages to catch up to the rising cost of living. Consequently, strikes increased in number and stretched in longevity, and violence erupted more frequently. Throughout the United States, as well as in California, the number of strikes in 1916 doubled over that of the previous year.⁵

On July 10, the deadline set by the structural steel workers' unions for the implementation of the eight-hour day, one of the most important meetings in the history of the business community of San Francisco was called. Organized by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the gathering was designed to unify the

businessmen against the growing violence along the waterfront which had been engendered by an International Longshoremen Union strike in progress. San Francisco depended on the waterfront for its incoming goods, but with the longshoremen on strike, ships were left loaded in the docks. Only stevedores with special permits issued by the Riggers' and Stevedores' Union could unload goods, and these goods went only to those businesses known to be friendly to the unions. By July 10, more than thirty strikebreakers and other workers who had attempted to work on the strike-blocked waterfront had been beaten. In addition to the longshoremen's strike, the bay and river steamboat operators were out on strike; the San Francisco culinary workers had threatened a city-wide shut-down; the city's automobile mechanics had not yet settled with their employers; and the structural steel workers' deadline had been ignored, forcing the workers to walk off their jobs that morning. It was a propitious moment for the business community to unify.⁶

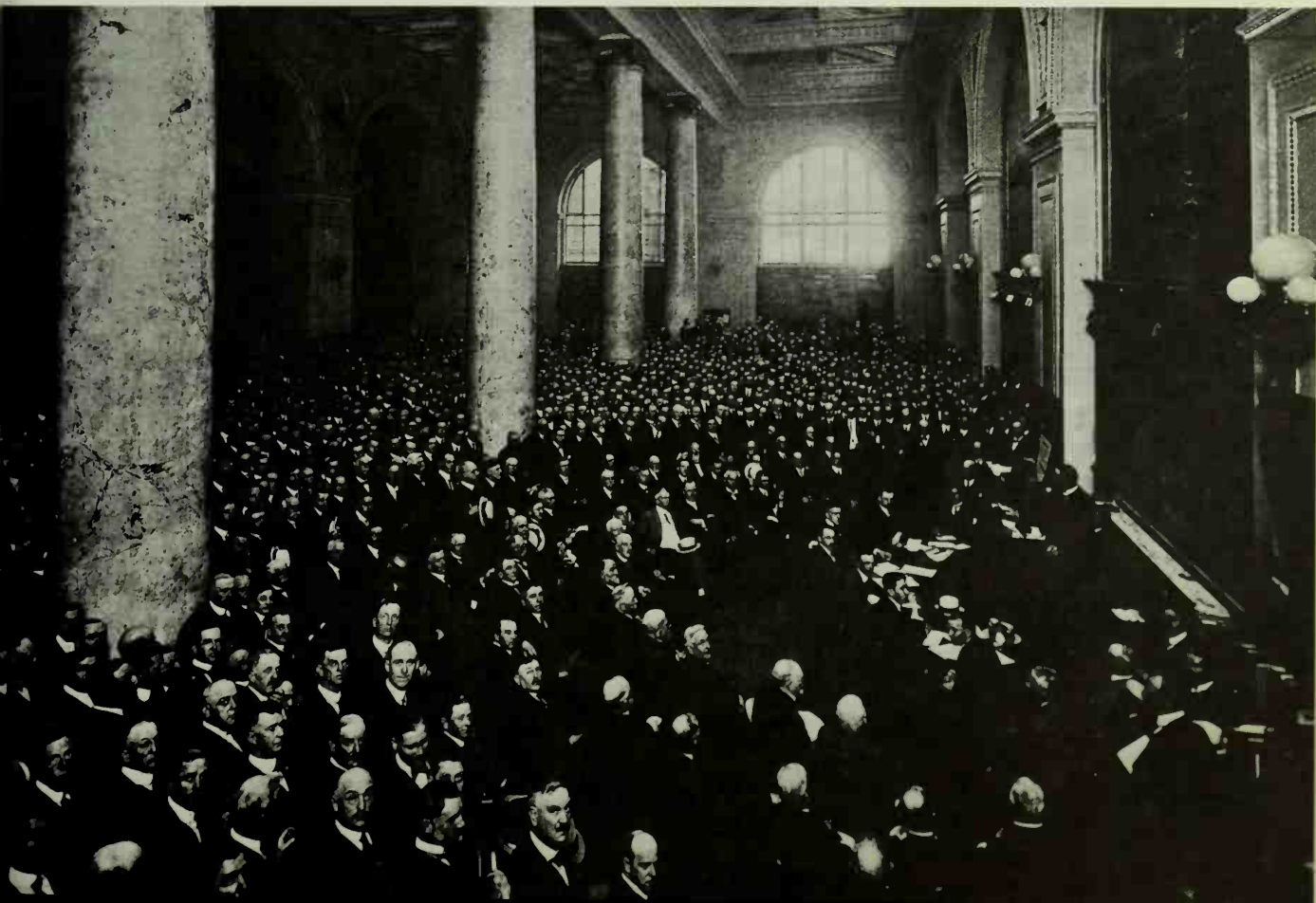
Frederick J. Koster, president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, called the meeting of businessmen in order to outline a plan to "control the intolerable situation on the waterfront."⁷ To the enthusiastic and receptive audience, Koster advocated the formation of a special committee to oversee the solution of the maritime-related strikes in San Francisco. Accordingly, the Law and Order Committee—a name nostalgic of the committees of vigilance of more than fifty years past—was formed. Its purpose, as stated by the Chamber of Commerce, was to demand law and order, fulfillment of contracts, and the right of business to employ either union or nonunion labor.⁸

The real issue, only barely hidden in the stated goals, was the open shop. Operating under the assumption that it was unionization which was causing labor unrest, many employers believed that implementation of the open shop would end labor disturbances in San Francisco once and for all and make the city's industries

On July 10, the Chamber of Commerce brought together 2000 "merchants, businessmen and professional men" on the floor of the Merchants Exchange to form the Law and Order Committee. By the end of 1916 the committee commanded a budget of \$1 million.

competitive with those of its open shop neighbor, Los Angeles. The business community in San Francisco had heretofore largely tolerated the existence of unions, but it had regularly heaped invectives on most of their activities. In 1916, unionization was still looked upon as something "unnatural," and it was not until World War II that unionization was accepted by employers as a means of collective bargaining. Therefore, when Chamber of Commerce President Koster asked for money to begin the open-shop campaign, chamber businesses quickly pledged \$500,000. By the end of 1916, this amount had swollen to \$1 million.⁹

From the moment that the new Law and Order Committee gained a budget which was independent from that of the Chamber of Commerce, the committee became virtually autonomous, and for the next three years the committee operated as though it were a separate entity from the chamber. After more than fifteen years of watching the unions gain in power and prestige, the committee set out to remobilize the intimidated business community and return labor-management relations to their pre-earthquake status. Unions had grown rapidly after the turn of the century, in part because skilled construction workers were in high demand in the



decade of full construction after the 1906 devastation. Even the corruption and collapse of the Union Labor Party which controlled San Francisco city government could not dislodge the growing unions. Now, the committee determined, was the time to move.

The committee had been active less than two weeks when it received a boost giving it more public support than it ever could have expected. On July 22, during the pre-World War I Preparedness Day Parade, a bomb exploded in San Francisco which killed ten persons and injured more than forty others. Although the unions could not specifically be blamed for the outrage, many assumed that they were responsible. The Law and Order Committee instantly seized on the bombing as yet another example of vicious union tactics, and their apparent wisdom was not lost to San Franciscans when Thomas Mooney and Warren Billings, both labor organizers, were arrested for causing the carnage.

It is doubtful that the unions had any part in the bombings, but the arrest of the union organizers and the tense labor situation in San Francisco immediately preceding the explosion placed the unions under suspicion. Accordingly, the various unions on strike were urged by their leaders to use great caution to avoid any strategy which would draw undue attention to themselves.¹⁰

The Law and Order Committee moved quickly to take advantage of the situation. Declaring the bombing an act of sabotage, President Koster proclaimed that the fight for law and order was not a partisan or businessman's cause, but in the "common interest of every man in San Francisco."¹¹ He also announced that a special Committee of One Hundred would be formed to aid the law-and-order campaign.

The Committee of One Hundred, it soon became clear, was merely a window dressing for the Law and Order Committee. The roster of the One Hundred included the names of some of the most influential men in San Francisco, but they had no say in the policy of the Law and Order Committee. They met once, went on record

supporting the committee, and then disbanded. So endorsed, and backed by a substantial independent treasury, the Law and Order Committee moved quickly amid the public hysteria to take control of the labor-management situation.¹²

In July 25, the ten structural steel firms which had refused to accept the eight-hour day announced that they intended to resume operations immediately with the support of the Law and Order Committee. Through the president of the Building Trades Employers Association, the companies issued the ultimatum that the workers return to the factories by July 28 or the firms would implement the open shop.¹³ Unable to respond within the short time period allowed, the unions saw the ten recalcitrant firms begin operating with scab labor on the old nine-hour day and under the open-shop directive.

The Law and Order Committee had been anticipating just such a testing ground. Earlier in the month it had formed the American Stevedore Company, a clearing-house for nonunion labor. Although its laborers were unskilled, the committee believed that the instant supply of manpower would tide the troubled businesses over until the strike had been broken. In addition to supplying the ten firms with nonunion labor, the Law and Order Committee also furnished armed guards to patrol the premises of any strike-torn plant. As well, it offered unqualified financial assistance to the companies—one of the greatest assets of an independent treasury. Forming a symbiotic coalition, the steel firms needed the manpower and the financial assistance of the Law and Order Committee, and the committee in turn needed a proving ground to test its strength and tactics before moving to take on the maritime unions that had disrupted the waterfront.¹⁴

Both labor and management believed that they held the upper hand in the situation. The ten iron works attempted to prolong the strike as long as possible in order to bankrupt the unions, and the unions held out in the belief that if the fabricating mills were forced to use unskilled, nonunion labor, the resulting problems would force the firms to give in to the eight-hour day.

The union's reasoning proved to be more accurate. On August 16, the Pacific Rolling Mill Company sent a letter to San Francisco's Mayor James R. Rolph, Jr., about the difficulties it was now facing. Pacific Rolling Mill supported the open shop and the nine-hour day, the letter read, but most of the nonunion labor provided them to achieve the goals of the Law and Order Committee were "unfamiliar with fabrication of structural steel, and while they [were] adapting themselves as rapidly as can be expected, it [was] essential that we proceed with our work in a cautious manner due to the absolute accuracy which is necessary."¹⁵

Suddenly, in mid-August, the monolithic front of the ten holdout firms was broken. Shortly after Pacific sent its letter to the mayor, Vulcan Iron Works bolted and signed with the unions. Three more firms—Central Iron Works, Withington Iron Works, and Pacific Rolling Mill—also capitulated. (One of these three did not finally sign with the unions until a boycott had been declared against it.) Some years later these four firms claimed that they had been forced by the other six companies and by the Law and Order Committee to join the structural steel factories coalition under threats that

arrangements had been made with railroads, banks and other companies so that any employer who did not join in the organization [of the ten firms] would find his materials were sidetracked, delayed and missent: banks would call his loans, and he would be driven out of business.¹⁶

Furthermore, the four firms claimed that they had agreed to join the lockout with the understanding that it was only to last thirty days so that the eight-hour day would not appear to be given too readily. They also later

*"Sure, [open shop] tis a shop where
they kape th' dore open t' accomodate
th' constant sthream of min' comin'
th' take jobs cheaper thin th' min
whut 'as th' jobs."*

... Definition of the open shop from
the Anarchist journal, *The Blast*,
September 1, 1916.

contended that the bargaining body of the coalition had "refused to confer at all with the strikers."¹⁷

Although the four dissident firms signed with the unions, the companies' troubles were not yet over. The six remaining firms immediately sued them for the bonds posted earlier as guarantee of solidarity, and the litigation over these bonds continued for years.¹⁸

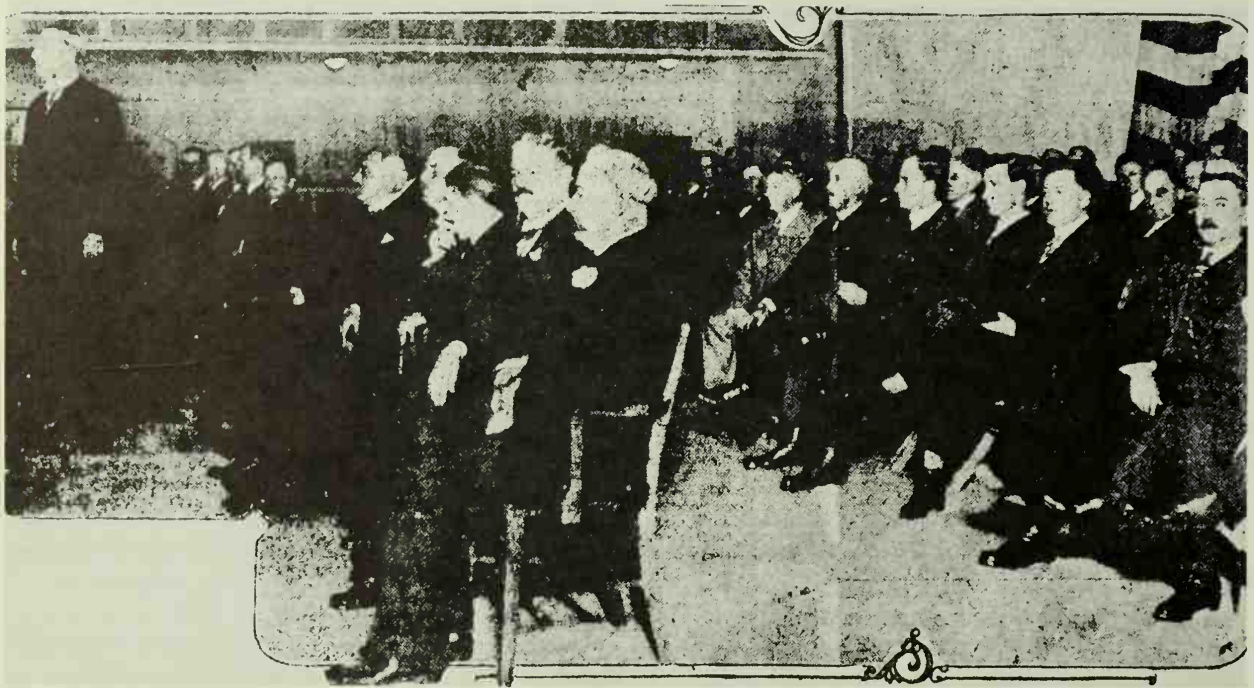
To step up pressure on the remaining recalcitrant steel firms, the unions began a product boycott on October 6, 1916. Backed by the California Building Trades Council, the boycott was calculated to defeat the Law and Order Committee and the structural steel firms at their own game. The circular sent out by the trades council to many structural steel-related industries urged that

union men affiliated with the Building Trades Council of California will refuse to handle or place any materials fabricated by any of the seven unfair firms hereinbefore mentioned, and they will not work on jobs where said nonunion, nine-hour manufacturing is used.¹⁹

(One of the seven firms bolted immediately after the boycott was announced.)

In order to counteract the circular, the Law and Order Committee and the holdout businesses began a publicity campaign of their own. They placed large advertisements in most of the city's newspapers which announced: "There has suddenly arisen a situation in this

The Law and Order Committee capitalized on the Preparedness Day Parade bombing, labeling it another example of vicious union tactics.



city demanding the attention of every thoughtful and patriotic San Franciscan." The advertisements lamented the fact that the unions could not see the position of business and that the unions were compelled to take their "un-American" stand. Furthermore, the text read, the firms were acting within their rights by "exercising the right granted to every American citizen of liberty of action by employing working men without accepting dictation from any source whatsoever as to whom they should employ."²⁰

Predictably, the mayor of San Francisco, James R. Rolph, Jr., became involved in the strike. Since the beginning of the affair, Rolph had maintained a neutral position, and in the midst of the Preparedness Day-bombing hysteria, he was in constant negotiations with

the various striking unions and their respective employers. Working with a cool head, Rolph held several meetings with the structural steel unions and businesses, the most explosive of which occurred on November 10.²¹

After listening to both sides of the eight-hour versus nine-hour day controversy, Rolph suggested a possible compromise. The six remaining companies could try the eight-hour day for "six or nine months," and after that time if the San Francisco steel industry could not compete successfully with other steel fabricating plants elsewhere in the United States, "another conference could be arranged."²²

Four days later the six companies sent an outraged letter to Mayor Rolph, charging that he had "taken an unfair stand" against them by forcing them to do "a thing that

in [their] opinion [would] act as the last straw in the ruination of [their] industry in San Francisco." Furthermore, they claimed with questionable veracity that no other city's structural steel industry operated on an eight-hour day; that San Francisco firms already paid their steel workers a 35 percent higher wage than any other city; that freight rates for raw and fabricated materials favored East Coast companies; and that waste materials could not be disposed of profitably on the West Coast, thereby increasing company operating costs.²³

On November 17, the structural steel unions responded to the letter written by their employers. Answering for the unions, William Michel, secretary of the House-smiths and Architectural Iron Workers Union, Local 78, argued that for the past decade the eight-hour day had been tried in the structural steel industry and proved successful; that East Coast firms paid equal or higher wages than San Francisco firms; that competition with the East Coast producers was minimal, and none had won contracts in San Francisco for years; and that waste scraps from large jobs were routinely used on smaller jobs or sold to other companies.²⁴

Buttressing his case, Michel then quoted the superintendent of the Judson Manufacturing Company of San Francisco, one of the original fifty-four companies to switch to the eight-hour day in July. The official stated that on the eight-hour day, production

will be increased fourteen percent, and that overhead expenses, cost of oil, lighting, etc. will be reduced. The men are far more efficient, more willing, more capable of first-class work under the new system. Directly in charge of the work here as I am, I have been in a position to closely observe the new order, and I can safely make this unqualified statement: A worker can and will do more work in eight hours than in twelve.²⁵

Michel also quoted Mr. Mortenson of the Mortenson Iron Works, one of the recalcitrant firms, who believed that the eight-hour day could be granted because the

impending war would mean increased demands for steel products.²⁶

Despite the conferences, negotiations, and boycott which had been called since the walkout in July, the unions and the six firms had not come to an agreement by late fall. Supported financially and morally by the Law and Order Committee, the firms continued to operate with scab labor. For San Francisco laborers, it must have seemed as though nothing could stop the open-shop juggernaut and the Law and Order Committee. Riding the crest of a wave of popularity unknown since the days of the old Committees of Vigilance, the committee had gained an excellent record of victories in the months since its founding—the longshoremen's strike and the related lumber yard strike had been broken in July; bay and river steamboat workers were back on the job, and the structural steel strike was at a standstill. The Chamber of Commerce capitalized on the committee's popularity with a membership drive that increased its number nearly fivefold, making it the largest Chamber of Commerce in the United States.²⁷ The only important element of the city remaining to be won over, or defeated, was the mayor of San Francisco.

To the Law and Order Committee, Rolph was a question mark. While it could be said that he was not a staunch supporter of the Law and Order Committee, neither could it be said that he was an ally of labor.

When the Law and Order Committee had been formed in July, Rolph had written a personal letter to Chamber President Koster stating that such a grouping was destined for disaster. Furthermore, Rolph urged, the formation of the Law and Order Committee "might be misconstrued by Labor and have a tendency to disturb labor conditions in the city."²⁸ He emphatically stated

In October the Law and Order Committee attempted to turn "Mr. Architect, Mr. Owner and Mr. Citizen" against the Trades Council's boycott of the seven recalcitrant steel firms.

The Law and Order Committee could not have chosen a more questionable representative of "law and order" to head its security force.

that as long as he was mayor, "the Police Department will impartially enforce the law." This was a clear warning to the Chamber of Commerce and the Law and Order Committee to confine their activities to actions within the law. But although Rolph suspected that the Law and Order Committee might become another vigilante group, he did little to oppose it other than to launch an occasional verbal attack. However, when the construction of a tuberculosis wing at the San Francisco hospital on Potrero Street became a pawn between the Law and Order Committee and the striking unions, Rolph moved to resolve the dispute.²⁹

The bid for the construction of the tuberculosis wing had been won by Dyer Brothers, one of the recalcitrant structural steel firms. Work had been begun by disgruntled architectural iron workers who were sympathetic to the structural steel workers' dispute. A confrontation quickly developed when Dyer Brothers neglected to put up planking around the construction site to protect the workmen. Planking was essential to keep falling tools and building materials from injuring workmen on the ground.³⁰

Mayor Rolph, again attempting to be the moderator in the confrontation, scheduled a meeting between the striking architectural iron workers and Dyer Brothers. Negotiations for the meeting were underway when the Law and Order Committee suddenly began pressuring Dyer Brothers to break off negotiations with the unions and to declare the hospital, like its structural steel mill, an open shop. As in the earlier struggle, the committee guaranteed financial support, non-union labor to do the work, and armed guards to protect the scab

laborers and the site. Whether Dyer Brothers wished to comply or not, the firm was helplessly indebted and tied to the committee and had no choice but to acquiesce. If Dyer Brothers had refused, the committee would have withdrawn its strikebreakers and armed guards from the structural steel mill, and Dyer Brothers would have been forced to capitulate to the unions.

As described by the *Labor Clarion*, a local labor publication, the tense situation developed solely as a result of the committee's actions:

It seems that both parties appreciated the merits of the Mayor's position [to act as a mediator] and were about to agree, when that band of buzzards known as the Law and Order Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, creatures without hearts or souls, sympathies or emotions, and moved only by the instincts of gluttonous greed, stepped in and prevented an adjustment, with a desire to inconvenience organized labor.³²

To further complicate the confrontation at the hospital, the Law and Order Committee hired a former police chief, George Wittman, to oversee its armed guards. Not only did Wittman carry the obvious stigma of being a hireling of the committee, but he also bore the albatross of corruption. Wittman had been forced to resign from the police department of San Francisco under charges of graft. The Law and Order Committee could not have chosen a more questionable representative of "law and order" for the head of its security force.³³

Throughout the month of November, the situation at the hospital was increasingly tense. On December 1, the head of the Public Works Department, the city agency responsible for the construction of San Francisco's hospital, ordered all armed guards off the hospital premises. He was backed by Mayor Rolph. When asked how the police should handle the situation if Wittman and his men refused to leave the site, Rolph replied tersely, "Arrest them."³⁴

When the police arrived at the hospital, however, they found that the company's armed guards had moved to

LAW AND ORDER!

To the Citizens of San Francisco:

THERE HAS SUDDENLY ARISEN A SITUATION IN THIS CITY DEMANDING THE ATTENTION OF EVERY THOUGHTFUL, LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC SAN FRANCISCAN.

The Building Trades Council of San Francisco has declared a boycott upon seven structural steel firms, which at this time are exercising the right granted to every American citizen of liberty of action by employing working men without accepting dictation from any source whatsoever as to whom they should employ.

The announcement of the boycott against these firms was made in a circular letter sent by the Building Trades Council to the architects of San Francisco.

This letter is signed by O. A. Tveitmoie, Secretary of the Building Trades Council of San Francisco. The letter includes a list of firms classed as "fair" and a list classed as "unfair."

THE LAW AND ORDER COMMITTEE of the SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE does not publish these names here because this Committee will not be a party to the circulation of a boycott. This letter is as follows:

"BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF SAN FRANCISCO
"BUILDING TRADES TEMPLE

"San Francisco, Cal., September 28, 1916.

"Please be advised that the following ornamental iron and structural steel firms are employing union mechanics and helpers, and operating their shops on the basis of an eight-hour workday: * * *

"In order that honest and fair dealings may obtain, we beg to inform you that the following seven unfair firms employ non-union workers, and operate their shops on the basis of a nine-hour workday: * * *

"Union men affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco and the State Building Trades Council of California will refuse to handle or place any material fabricated by any of the seven unfair firms hereinbefore mentioned, and they will not work on jobs where said non-union, nine-hour manufactured material is used. Very respectfully, O. A. TVEITMOIE, Secretary Building Trades Council of San Francisco."

THIS PLAINLY MEANS THAT THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS OF THIS CITY AND STATE INTEND, by threat of strike and boycott, to prevent seven business houses of this city from having business intercourse with their fellow-citizens until they agree to conduct their business in accordance with the demands of a powerful combination in the community.

These seven structural steel firms fabricate 90% or more of the structural steel fabricated in San Francisco.

This boycott is directed solely against these San Francisco firms, whereas structural steel fabricated in any other part of the United States, regardless of the conditions under which it is fabricated, under longer hours, lower wages, and non-union conditions, is accepted here with no restrictions whatever.

THE LAW AND ORDER COMMITTEE of the SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE will not now (nor has it at any time in the past) enter into any question of hours and wages between employer and employee. The LAW AND ORDER COMMITTEE stands exactly where it stood when it was organized on July 10, 1916. This Committee was formed to execute the permanent policy of the SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. That policy demands:

1. The integrity of contractual relations.
2. The maintenance of Law and Order.
3. The policy of the Open Shop, insisting upon the right to employ union or non-union workers, in whole or in part, as the parties involved may elect.

THIS COMMITTEE TAKES THE POSITION THAT THE BOYCOTT IS UNAMERICAN. This Committee concurs thoroughly with the decision of the Federal Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, which, in its report to President Theodore Roosevelt, on the anthracite coal strike, said:

"It (the boycott) is an attempt of many, by concerted action, to work their will upon another who has exercised his legal right to differ with them in opinion and in conduct. It is tyranny, pure and simple, and as such is hateful, no matter whether attempted to be exercised by few or by many, by operators or by workmen, and no society that tolerates or condones it can justly call itself free."

THIS COMMITTEE indorses this further expression in the report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission:

"The right thus to work can not be made to depend upon the approval or disapproval of the personal character and conduct of those who claim to exercise this right. If this were otherwise, then those who remain at work might, if they were in the majority, have both the right and power to prevent others, who choose to cease to work, from so doing."

"This all seems too plain for argument. Common sense and common law alike denounce the conduct of those who interfere with this fundamental right of the citizen. The assertion of the right seems trite and commonplace, but that land is blessed where the maxims of liberty are commonplace."

IN CONNECTION WITH THE RIGHT TO WORK, this Committee further indorses the judgment rendered by the Honorable Joseph Fitch of New York, who, on September 21st of this year, in sentencing a defendant arrested during the car strike cases, said:

"The laws of this country are very severe against capitalists who combine to raise the price of products or anything of that kind. The laboring man can still combine, if he wants, with his fellows, to strike or quit work. That is a necessary instrument for his protection in his hands. But if there are a thousand car conductors in Queens County, and nine hundred and ninety-nine of them decide to go on a strike, and there is one man of them that wants to work, and who decides to go on strike with the nine hundred and ninety-nine, I hold, and if I were Mayor of New York I should hold, if it brought down the City Hall upon my head, that the whole force of the police of the entire City of New York, if it were necessary, should protect that one man against the nine hundred and ninety-nine, and he should drive a car if he were the only man in Queens that wanted to do it and his Company were willing to employ him. Now, that would be my attitude, because that is the old American idea of freedom, and we are getting pretty far away from it now in many respects."

But, in face of these expressions of broad Americanism from sources of integrity and soundness, the community of San Francisco is confronted with this boycott.

MR. ARCHITECT, what are YOU going to do about this boycott?

MR. OWNER, what are YOU going to do about this boycott?

MR. CITIZEN, what are YOU going to do about this boycott?

THE LAW AND ORDER COMMITTEE

Of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce

an adjacent street so as to avoid being arrested. But the move defeated the guards' purpose, and the strikebreakers became concerned for their safety and promptly "quit their jobs and disappeared."³⁵

Issued an ultimatum, Dyer Brothers was then given three days to complete the job. This was a physical impossibility, and Rolph then canceled the contract and ordered the Board of Public Works to finish the building. Speaking for the city and county of San Francisco, Rolph unequivocally stated:

I am through with whimsical and technical quibblings over this hospital job, and it will be finished by the city itself and cost deducted from the money covered by the Dyer Brothers' contract. The Law and Order Committee of the Chamber of Commerce is financing Dyer Brothers as a part of the open-shop campaign, but they shall not be permitted to bring suffering and death upon helpless human beings in order to satisfy their vicious desires.³⁶

With the entry into the dispute of the mayor of San Francisco and the full weight of the city's administration behind him, the Law and Order Committee was forced to admit defeat in the architectural iron workers' strike. Even with a sympathetic public and a large budget behind it, the Law and Order Committee could not fight the power of city hall. With the collapse of the attempt to break the strike, it became apparent that the committee's role in the structural steel confrontation was doomed as well. When the committee withdrew its support from the six remaining holdouts, the companies went down to quick defeat. Within a month and by the end of January, 1917, all six signed with the San Francisco Building Trades Council for an eight-hour day.³⁷

The Law and Order Committee had reached its zenith in the closing months of 1916. Although it was to remain an active force for another two years, its nefarious activities, coupled with the increased power of the unions, doomed it to failure. Perhaps one of the most terrifying aspects of the committee was that it believed that it truly represented the business community. Though in July

of 1916 this may have been valid, by December of 1916 the committee had begun to alienate much of its public support.

An incident characterizing the committee's over-extension of its power was the trial of William McDevitt. McDevitt, a socialist, had been granted a seat on the city board of election commissioners. When McDevitt made an intemperate speech several days before the Preparedness Day bombing in July of 1916, the committee pressed for his removal from office in a *legal* proceeding conducted before the mayor of San Francisco. Many historians have commented on the indiscretion of this action.

Similarly, as the Mooney-Billings bombing affair of July, 1916, began to appear more and more as a frame-up, the Law and Order Committee increased its efforts to prop up the district attorney's case. This enhanced the public's belief that the Law and Order Committee and the district attorney were so inextricably tied that malfeasance on the part of one implicated the other. Accordingly, when it became obvious that the district attorney had conducted the Mooney-Billings trial in a somewhat less than legal manner, the Law and Order Committee was forced to abandon the fight for the open shop in order to try to save its reputation from defilement. When it became apparent that the Law and Order Committee might be charged with legal indiscretions, Chamber of Commerce President Koster was conveniently "out of town" when the chamber formally dissolved the Law and Order Committee in August of 1919. Had the committee maintained a more restrained attitude in dealing with labor-management crises in 1916, particularly in the open-shop and eight-hour day campaign of 1916, it might well have changed the course of San Francisco's—and California's—history.

The foundry photograph is from the CHS Library. The boycott advertisement is from *The Argonaut*, October 14, 1916. The other items are reproduced from the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce's *Law and Order in San Francisco, A Beginning* (1916).

Notes

1. "Legal Forces of City Called Out for Mayor's War," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 29, 1916, p. 5.
2. San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, *Law and Order in San Francisco: A Beginning* (San Francisco: Rincon Press, 1916), p. 34. There does not appear to be any accurate account as to how many workers were involved in the structural steel strike, but an authoritative guess is possible by consulting Robert Edward Lee Knight's *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1900-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).
3. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 320.
4. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 321.
5. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 299; Ira B. Cross, *Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California* (San Francisco, 1917), pp. 495-6, 518, 520.
6. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 304-06; Chamber of Commerce, *Law and Order*, 1-14; Steven C. Levi, "San Francisco's Law and Order Committee, 1916," *Journal of the West*, January, 1973.
7. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 304-06; "Water Front Situation," *Labor Clarion*, July 4, 1916, p. 1; Chamber of Commerce to Rolph, July 10, 1916, Rolph Papers in the possession of the California Historical Society Library, San Francisco.
8. "President Koster Outlines Purpose of Mass Meeting," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 11, 1916, p. 2; Chamber of Commerce, *Law and Order*, p. 5.
9. Chamber of Commerce, *Law and Order*, 19.
10. "Lumbermen Vote to Return to Work Today on Old Scale," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 25, 1916, p. 10. The best sources on the bombing and its aftermath are Curt Gentry, *Frame-Up: The Incredible Story of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1967); Richard H. Frost, *The Mooney Case* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968); and Ernest Jerome Hopkins, *What Happened in the Mooney Case* (New York: Brewer, Warren & Putnam, 1932).
11. Edward H. Hurlbut, "Mass Meeting Held," *San Francisco Call and Post*, July 27, 1916, p. 1.
12. Chamber of Commerce, p. 38; "Plan Big Campaign to Enforce the Law," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 28, 1916, p. 1; "Chamber of Commerce Law and Order Committee Gets to Work," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 25, 1916, p. 1.
13. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 321.
14. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 320.
15. Pacific Rolling Mill to Mayor James R. Rolph, August 16, 1916, Rolph Papers.
16. "Suit Bares Rift in Iron Trades Organization," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1920, p. 17.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Argonaut, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Bulletin*, and *San Francisco Call and Post*, October 6, 1916.
20. Ibid.
21. Dyer Brothers, Mortenson Construction Company, Pacific Rolling Mill Company, Ralston Iron Works, Schrader Iron Works and Western Iron Works to Rolph, Rolph Papers, November 14, 1916; William Michel to Rolph, November 17, 1916.
22. Dyer Brothers, *et al.* to Rolph, November 14, 1916, p. 2.
23. Ibid.
24. Michel to Rolph, November 17, 1916, pp. 1-6.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Chamber of Commerce, *Law and Order*, 37; "'Open Shop' is the Slogan of Businessmen," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 29, 1916, p. 3; "Chamber of Commerce Campaign Closes with 7282 Members," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 2, 1916, p. 8.
28. Rolph to Frederick J. Koster, July 10, 1916, Rolph Papers.
29. Ibid.
30. "Buzzards of Our City," *Labor Clarion*, December 8, 1916, p. 1.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. "Mayor Rolph Acts," *Labor Clarion*, December 1, 1916, p. 6.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. "Buzzards of Our City," *Labor Clarion*, December 8, 1916, p. 1.
37. Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 322.

MIRACLES FOR A DIME



from Chautauqua tent to radio station with
SISTER AIMEE

For a tourist visiting Los Angeles in the 1920's or 1930's, the typical agenda of sightseeing "musts" would have included Catalina Island, the Ostrich Farm, Hollywood (in hopes of seeing a star), and Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson at her 5,000-seat-capacity Angelus Foursquare Temple. At the church, visitors might have been startled to see the lady minister, onstage astride a motorcycle and wearing a traffic policeman's uniform, jump off the cycle and shout, "Stop in the name of the Lord!" This kind of performance led some of her fellow ministers to denounce the Angelus services as "supernatural whoopee" and "a sensuous debauch served up in the name of religion." But most of those who visited the church agreed with *Harper's Magazine* in 1927 that Sister Aimee provided "the best show in town."

Aimee Semple McPherson arrived in Los Angeles in 1921 on a cross-country tent revival tour. Her battered old car carried the message "Jesus Is Coming—Get Ready" painted on its side. She later related that divine instruction had guided her to the future site of Angelus Temple next to Echo Park. The location was a good one, at the point where the electric streetcar lines crossed in the fastest-developing section of the city. The Lord apparently had a firm grasp of promotional possibilities.

By 1923, the Angelus Foursquare Temple had been constructed at a cost of \$1.5 million, financed with contributions raised through revival crusades. By that time Aimee claimed over 50,000 followers, and her band, in which Anthony Quinn played the trumpet, was bigger than John Philip Sousa's. After Aimee's death in 1944, the work of her organization was continued by her son Rolf. Today it has 250,000 members and 500 branch churches.

Aimee drew a following through her remarkable

religious services, which she called "Illustrated Sermons." They were conducted on a giant stage which included a proscenium arch that had been constructed on Charlie Chaplin's advice. The services employed a painted backdrop similar to those used in the movies and elaborate props and costumes rented from Western Costume, the principal Hollywood studio supplier. The themes of the sermons were chosen for a simple message that could be presented in a highly dramatic manner. A typical sermon featured the fiery destruction of the world, with the righteous escaping the flames on a cross-shaped bridge to Heaven, all of which was painted on the backdrop. One service had as its theme "The Lone Ranger Unmasked" and compared Jesus Christ to the Lone Ranger. Other themes included the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Samson pulling down the temple, the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, Aimee's conversion of a band of gypsies living near Los Angeles, and George Washington at Valley Forge. In the latter performance, Aimee wore a copy of the general's uniform and reviewed the colonial troops while snow fell on the stage.

For twenty years Aimee was assisted in these productions by her stage manager, Thompson Eade. Eade had been a performer in vaudeville. During World War I he suffered shell shock. In a recent interview Eade related that in 1924 he had been miraculously cured at Angelus Temple and then enrolled in the temple's Bible College. When Sister learned of his vaudeville background she pulled him out of class and into the service of the Lord as her stage manager and set designer.

Eade also helped her organize and produce programs on radio station KFSG, which Aimee founded as the first religious radio station in the United States. KFSG was the third radio station established in Los Angeles, and Aimee was the first woman to hold a Federal Communications Commission broadcaster's license.

One of the important features of Sister Aimee's career is that she bridged the gap between two historic styles

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(Top) The country preacher with her following on a cross-country revival tour c. 1920.

Aimee enlisted the aid of Thompson Eade, a former vaudeville performer, to help expand the ranks of her listeners. Eade and Aimee (left) broadcast on KFSG in 1925, and Eade's conversion story was the basis of a revival campaign (above) at the Angelus Temple.

of religious dramatization. Her early years of cross-country revival crusades were in the tradition of the Chautauqua Tent meeting, used by speakers such as populist and evangelist William Jennings Bryan. During that period Aimee's dress and hair style were plain, and the stage and equipment were sparse. The dramatic impact of the service came from the preaching alone. After settling in Los Angeles, Aimee pioneered the move of charismatic, revivalistic religion from the tent to the radio station. The range of visual imagery developed at the Angelus Temple by Aimee and Eade brought to evangelism the sophistication and techniques used in television crusades today.

Why did this development take place in Los Angeles? Part of the answer is immediately apparent: Los Angeles was the capital of the entertainment industry. From 1920 to 1940, movie production was the city's largest industry, followed by real estate, oil, and oranges. Hollywood's influence was apparent in the Angelus stage sets, and in the changes in Sister Aimee's personal appearance from that of country preacher to modern woman with dyed and bobbed hair and stylish clothes, despite the outcry of those who considered make-up a sure sign of moral decay.

More important than the example of Hollywood glamour was the challenge that the new forms of entertainment, the radio and movies, brought to religious influence and activities. Religion had formerly provided the most dramatic element in the lives of many Americans, especially in the Middle West which sent a half-million immigrants to Los Angeles in the 1920's and 1930's. The new movies and radio shows, it was apparent, could replace church activities as a source of drama, excitement and relief from the tedium of work.

When midwestern immigrants arrived in Los Angeles, their active participation in organized religion usually declined, and rates of Protestant church attendance in the city dropped steadily. The traditional threats of hellfire were not as successful in a balmy climate blessed with Mary Pickford and Faye Wray. Sister Aimee could compete with them, however, by putting on a show better than those at Grauman's Chinese or the Pantages Theater. In the process she paid little attention to doctrinal distinctions, because, as she declared, in Los Angeles "doctrinal differences had gotten the eyes of many off the Lord" and into "quibbles and hairsplitting." Aimee's positive-thinking approach is best illustrated by her shift of attention away from hell and retribution:

Who cares about old Hell, friends? Why, we all know what Hell is. We've heard about it all our lives. A terrible place, where nobody wants to go. I think the less we hear about Hell the better, don't you? Let's forget about Hell. Lift up your hearts. What *we* are interested in, yes Lord, is *Heaven* and how to get *there*!

Aimee's audience *had* heard about hell all of their lives, and they were tired of it. Calvin must have turned over in his grave.

Many of the Protestant clergy in Los Angeles resented Sister Aimee's success at winning away their parishioners with showy sermons. When Aimee conducted a crusade in London, a delegation of Los Angeles ministers tried to persuade the British government to ban her from the country, warning of "her tendency to cause insanity in her audiences." Aimee's greatest enemy was Reverend Bob Shuler of Trinity Methodist Church. "Fighting Bob" ran unsuccessfully for the United States Senate in 1932 as a Prohibitionist, and he put a curse on the state of California after it failed to elect him. (His curse was sometimes credited with causing the 1933 Long Beach earthquake.) Shuler had a radio station second in the size of its listening audience only to Aimee's, and he used his station to denounce the personal lives of all

those who offended him. He supported the Ku Klux Klan, and during Al Smith's 1928 campaign for president, Shuler accused Catholics of planning to murder Protestants in their beds, employing a fourteenth-century document as his source of information. To those who object to Sister Aimee's influence on religion, one can only compare her to the Prohibition era's conception of the Lord as the Celestial Cop of the Anti-Saloon League.

The best opportunity for Sister Aimee's detractors to force her from the pulpit came with her mysterious disappearance from Ocean Park beach in May, 1926. Six weeks passed without any word of her. Los Angeles was in an uproar, and thousands held prayer vigils at the beach to no avail. Then Aimee suddenly appeared at Agua Prieta in the Arizona desert. She had been kidnapped, she related, by two desperados named Jake and Mexicali Rose. When they passed-out from drinking mescal, she managed to cut her bonds, break a window,

and run across the desert for several days until she reached help.

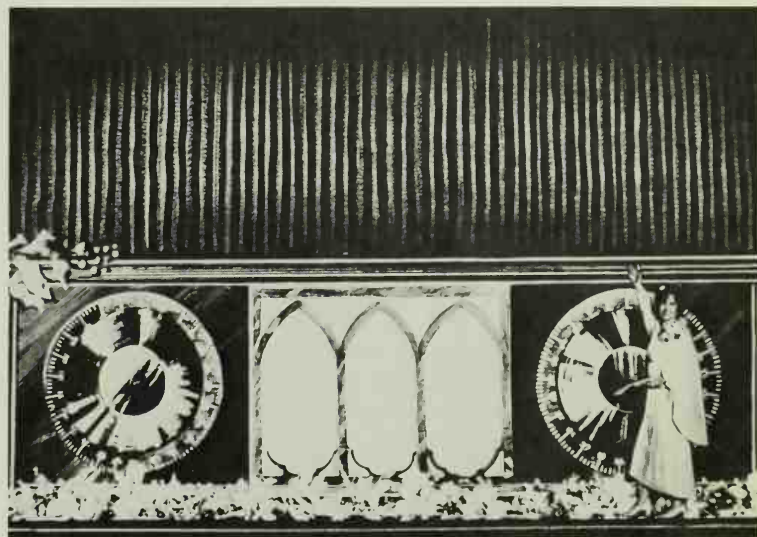
Upon her return to Los Angeles, Sister received the largest welcome ever before given to a public figure by the city. Between 50,000 and 100,000 people gathered to greet her, including the mayor, city council members, and the fire department, which she had recently "converted." Soon, however, disrespectful reporters suggested that her shoes were unscuffed and her skin unburned, rather unusual in view of the desperate desert chase. Rumors surfaced of a "love nest" in Carmel shared with the temple's handsome radio operator, and a San Diego newspaper published a front-page column on "the troubles caused in the world by the failure of women, especially red-heads, to keep their legs together."

For the next several years Los Angeles' blue-nosed brigade dragged Aimee into court with one charge after another related to the incident and accused her of having perpetrated a public hoax with her kidnapping story.



"From Chautauqua tent to illustrated sermon." (Above) In 1920, Aimee addressed outdoor tent meetings such as this revival session in Los Angeles.

By the late 1920's Angelus Temple had been built, and Aimee worked with elaborate painted backdrops which illustrated the weekly sermons. Themes included (left) the pearl of great price weighed against worldly wealth; (right) station KFSG and all-day religion; and (below) the seven thrones.



During the 1920's Aimee moved revivalistic, charismatic religion from the simple tent meeting to the complex use of radio, publicity, and visual imagery. (Right) An unadorned Aimee on a revival crusade c. 1920. (Page 361) Aimee broadcasting a service on radio station KFSG c. 1925.

But Aimee used her flamboyant style to make fools of her critics, and as author Morrow Mayo said, she answered every attack with a kick in the pants. What did it matter that her shoes were not scuffed and her skin not burned after a rigorous desert ordeal? Had not Shadrack, Meshack, and Abednego gone through the fiery furnace without harm? Aimee appeared in court wearing an "Admiral-General" uniform, organized a "Fight the Devil Fund" for her legal defense, and orchestrated temple services in which red devils with horns and tails arose out of a boiling cauldron, only to be chased back by Aimee wielding a pitchfork. When local ministers published a petition against her and signed their names with the initials of their various degrees, Aimee granted herself a degree with the initials A.B.C.D.E.F.G.

The full story of the kidnapping incident was never known. More recently, Milton Berle in his autobiography has claimed to have had an affair with the evangelist, although the combination of Uncle Miltie and Sister Aimee seems wildly improbable. These miscellaneous allegations, completely unproven, have been the focus of most writing about her from 1926 to the present day.

Sister Aimee grated on the nerves of those who wished to promote Los Angeles as the world's "New Athens" and specifically to remove any potential embarrassments before foreign guests and reporters began arriving for the 1932 Olympics. To display local cultural attainments, for example, city boosters had organized a painting competition. After the awards were given out, close inspection of the first prize entry revealed that its subject was not a traditional figure of Greek mythology, but rather Sister Aimee sitting in a cloud above Angelus Temple. The work was hastily removed as "detrimental to the city's dignity."

City fathers had legitimate cause for concern. Los



Angeles had gained a reputation as "one hundred mid-western towns laid end-to-end." H. L. Mencken referred to it as "double Dubuque," and others said it contained "more sanctified cranks per acre than any other town in America." The charges, in fact, were partly true. If Chicago was the Hog Butcher of the nation, Los Angeles was its Faith Healer, the City of the Second Chance, the place where those who were dissatisfied with their lot came to look for a better life.

The eccentric religious behavior of Los Angeles was well known. When a survey of churches was taken in the 1930's, almost all of those in San Francisco were listed as either Protestant or Catholic. In Los Angeles, 147 of the churches were Catholic, 836 were Protestant and 850 were recorded as "other." Many in the last category centered their activities around faith-healing, a trend created by the large numbers of people who had moved to Southern California to improve their health. One-fourth of those who established homes in the region in the early part of the century came for reasons of health or to accompany an ailing relative. Many of



today's old-timers moved to Los Angeles decades ago when the doctors told them they had only six months to live. The medical science of the time prescribed a move to a sunny, dry climate for many ailments, especially respiratory disorders, for which there were no real cures. Southern California's medical "climatologists" mapped out the areas which were best for emphysema, for pleurisy, and so forth. Los Angeles acquired a reputation as the "One-Lunged Tourist Town," and young girls complained in their diaries of being unable to find a suitor who was all of one piece. It was only natural that many of these health-seekers, whom science could offer no remedy, should turn to faith-healing. Aimee once declared at a meeting in Los Angeles that everyone in the audience knew someone who had gone through a "healing," and she was probably right.

Urban dislocation also led many to seek the community feeling that a religious movement could provide. With Los Angeles' population increasing twenty-five times between 1890 and 1930, avalanches of migration had buried all possibility of community cohesion. New-

comers could not be assimilated into the majority, for they were the majority. Only one-fourth of Los Angeles' population had been born in California. The city's high suicide and divorce rates were almost a commonplace.

Los Angeles was filled with people who had arrived in pursuit of their hopes and dreams—better health, renewed youth, a career as a movie star, escape from small-town social restrictions, enjoyment of the good life. But when expectations are high, disappointments can be severe. Those whose dreams failed might turn to suicide, or to religious or political commitments that satisfied their emotional needs. Thus Los Angeles was the birthplace of the Townsend Plan, Thirty Dollars Every Thursday, and innumerable other schemes to bring about a better world through economic plans that owed more to Houdini than to either Adam Smith or Karl Marx. Those in search of community feeling could also turn to the full social life and twenty-eight weekly services offered by Angelus Temple.

Nathanael West, describing in *Day of the Locust* the migrants who arrived in Los Angeles after "a lifetime of



Aimee baptising followers by immersion.

In the 1930's, Aimee's commissary provided 1,500,000 free meals to the indigent—without the customary ear-banging.



dull heavy labor,” said sympathetically that it was “hard to laugh at the need for beauty and romance.” Those urges nevertheless produced humorous sidelights, at least to the non-believers. The first renowned woman evangelist of the region, Katherine Tingley, also known as the Purple Mother, the Veiled Mahatma, and the Light of the Ledge, had among her church membership a dog whom she believed to be the reincarnation of one of her former husbands. Her movement collapsed when she had an affair with a married member of the group. Edgar Holloway claimed to be the last survivor of the Lost Continent of Mu, and he sold real estate lots on it prior to its scheduled rise from the sea. Sister Aimee, whose business judgment was notoriously bad, became involved in several ill-fated projects, including the sale of cemetery plots next to her own future burial place. The plots were promoted with the slogan, “Go Up With Aimee.”

Sister’s antics and sermons always provided a good show, but she also performed major relief work during the Depression, an aspect of her career that has received virtually no attention. In the 1930’s her commissary provided 1,500,000 free meals to the indigent, as well as clothing, shelter, and medical care. Angelus Temple gave immediate assistance to people in need, without eligibility or residence requirements, and the police department regularly referred the destitute to her care. Sister also refrained from the common skid-row practice of “ear-banging,” or requiring that the hungry listen to a sermon before being fed a meal. At Angelus Temple those who received help did not have to promise anything or believe in anything.

Today, Los Angeles no longer bears the title of the Capital of Eccentricity. Migration rates have slowed. An increasing percentage of Angelenos were born in the area, consider palm trees and sunshine in December natural, and do not long for a white Christmas that they have never known. Yet it is unclear whether “L.A.” has become more like the rest of the world, or if the rest of



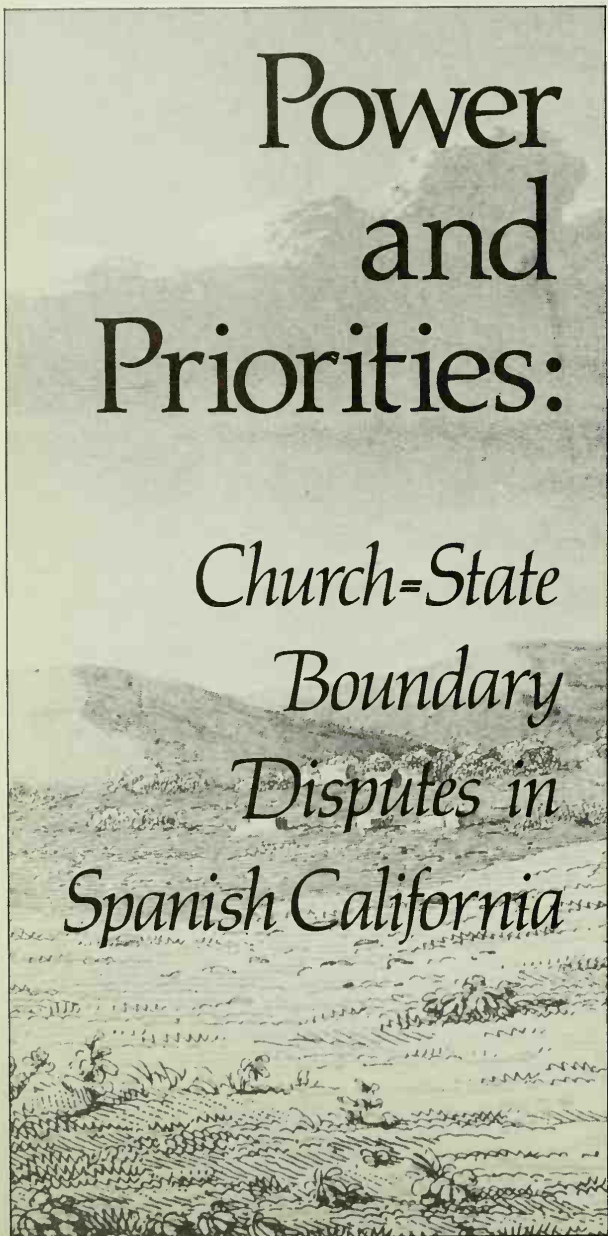
the world has changed to resemble Los Angeles, now that Hare Krishna devotees accost passengers in the Paris subway, and street corner evangelists operate without noticeable geographical variation.

Today’s religious revivalists make full use of the electronic media. Many such as Garner Ted Armstrong in Pasadena (before his recent expulsion) have facilities as advanced as those belonging to network television. Aimee pioneered the use of modern methods of communication for religious purposes. For over twenty years Sister Aimee also gave entertainment and assistance to many and provided a feminine symbol of daring and “chutzpah” appropriate to Los Angeles.

The photographs of Eade, the Eade marquee, and the illustrated sermon backdrops are courtesy Thompson Eade. The other photos are courtesy Angelus Temple, International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, Los Angeles.

Power and Priorities:

Church=State Boundary Disputes in Spanish California



Few will dispute historian Lewis Hanke's observation that "no European nation . . . took her Christian duty toward native peoples so seriously as did Spain."¹ Despite this national commitment, however, Spanish colonial officials of Church and State found it difficult to agree as to how this broad consensus would be translated into policy on the local level. This was especially apparent in Spain's frontier territories where the guiding beacon of statutory orthodoxy was eclipsed by distance and compromised by the pragmatic considerations of the business of empire. Thus arose the classic blanket rejoinder of the theoretically culpable but nevertheless autonomous secular official, "Obedezco pero no cumpro" ("I obey but I do not comply"). The immunity effectively built into these local decisions frequently came at the expense of the missionary orders, particularly in the more remote areas of the sprawling American empire. Despite the central role played by the aspiring missionary church in the course of empire in the sixteenth century, the institution increasingly became a perennial thorn in the side of a resource- and revenue-hungry colonial government.

By the waning years of the colonial era, the vulnerable and impoverished Spanish empire could no longer afford the luxury of an ecclesiastical establishment which clung to the anachronistic mandate of paternalistic stewardship that it had secured nearly three centuries earlier. Monumental in their achievements under conditions which stretched the limits of human endurance, the missionary orders proved equally tenacious in their resistance to any perceived incursion into their hegemony. Although the nature of colonial society had undergone massive change by the eighteenth century, the missionaries remained intransigent in their determi-

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nation to thwart adjustments in their equilibrium with the secular world. The formal expulsion of the Jesuits from the colonies in 1767 was only the most dramatic blow which the State finally leveled at the missionary orders; it reflected a situation of much greater cumulative enmity.

The eighteenth-century colonization of California provides a case in point of Spain's Church-State conflict. The specific issue around which larger antagonisms surfaced was the objection by missionaries to the choice of locations for the pueblo of San José de Guadalupe in 1777 and the Villa de Branciforte two decades later. This happened, in part, because the three forms of urban settlement in California—the mission, presidio, and pueblo—were distinct yet symbiotic entities. Missions were reconstituted Indian villages centered around a church and a strictly-supervised regimen of agriculture and crafts.² Their purpose was the introduction of Spanish civilization and the proselytization of the Catholic faith to Native Americans. Presidios, or forts, were to provide protection for mission communities as well as serve as coastal sentries and ports of entry; they were dependent on the missions for their sustenance. Pueblos or the more exalted villas (at least in title) were civilian agrarian settlements; their presence in California reflected the need to establish agricultural self-sufficiency in the province and to eliminate their dependence on the missions, as well as to increase the province's sparse Spanish population. From the beginning of the colonization effort, carefully drawn regulations prescribed where pueblos could be located with respect to Indian mission communities. In theory, this policy of separation of the mission from the secular world was to be vigorously enforced until such time as the mission completed its educational and evangelical tasks among the natives.

The mission-pueblo boundary disputes in late-eighteenth century Spanish California illustrate three dimensions of the Church-State problem. First, it becomes apparent that the acrimony of successive genera-

Despite the central role played in the course of empire by the aspiring missionary church, the institution became a perennial thorn in the side of a resource and revenue-hungry colonial government.

tions of conflict had made impossible harmonious dialogue between the clergy and secular interests, not only in matters of major impact (such as the timing of mission secularization), but also in rather minor if not wholly avoidable issues (such as boundary disputes). Second, it is revealed that secular interests chose to proceed with town foundings in a manner not only patently illegal, but also designed to tread heavily upon, if not humiliate, the Franciscan missionaries. Thirdly, it is evident that the California friars actively kindled the flames which were eventually to consume them by strenuously opposing the establishment of such secular communities from the very beginning. By turning a deaf ear on the needs of the State, the missionaries sowed the fateful seeds of exasperation and vindictiveness among their military and agrarian brethren.

It is therefore not surprising that tensions often ran high in the early years of the settlement of California. For example, following the midnight Indian uprising at the San Diego mission in November, 1775, Junípero Serra, father president of the missions, quarreled with Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada concerning measures to deal with rebellious and hostile Indians. Both parties had cause for anger because deteriorating relations between Rivera's soldiers and the mission community had led the missionaries to insist that the troops withdraw from the immediate area. This left the mission virtually defenseless against the surprise attack. Concurrently, the padres constantly bridled at the government-imposed prices at which their grain was to be sold to the military,

Paternalistic stewardship characterized the church's relations with native peoples. This Dufлот de Mofras sketch shows Father Duran and an Indian child at San José.

and they retaliated by withholding spiritual services from the troops; these services they regarded as voluntary charity, not a prescribed duty. The military, in turn, could counter by providing decreased protection to the missions, thus inviting the possibility of another tragedy like that at San Diego. Behind these squabbles was the difficulty of separating policies from the individuals empowered to carry them out. In these years personalities in conflict produced frequent disagreements which, according to historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, were "often petty in all their phases, and such as might easily have been avoided by slight mutual concessions and efforts to promote harmony."³ For example, it required two years to resolve the seemingly trivial issue of State-sanctioning of the missionaries' power to administer the sacrament of confirmation. Father Serra and Governor Felipe de Neve battled from 1779 to 1781 on this issue alone.⁴

Although the role of individual personalities should not be minimized, the sources of the boundary conflict in California were as cumulative as they were circumstantial. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish monarchy realized that the secular clergy were more malleable than the religious orders whose primary ties were to Rome rather than to the Crown. Philip II thus sought to minimize the role of the regular clergy in the colonies, but he was never able to achieve this end due to the scarcity of secular priests. This perpetual condition insured the continued sway overseas of the regular clergy, a fact which sorely vexed successive sovereigns, particularly the eighteenth-century Bourbon monarchs.⁵

The overriding factor in Church-State discord was not abstract conflicts of authority and allegiance, but rather the control of territory and population. As early as 1530, royal governors were instructed to respect the integrity of Indian communities, their organization, and their

customs, excepting what was deemed justifiable intervention in matters involving pagan customs or barbarous practices.⁶ The implications of territorial integrity extended to other fronts as well. It was very early viewed as a necessity, writes historian J. Preston Moore, "to protect the Indians against legal injustices at the hands of the *encomenderos*, caciques, and pettifogging attorneys."⁷ Through the centuries, the rationale for this almost too fiercely protective attitude remained remarkably consistent. An early spokesman, the Franciscan mystic Geronimo de Mendieta (1525-1604), similarly wrote:

The Indian with respect to the Spaniard is like a small dog in front of a mighty lion. The Spaniards have both the evil desire and the strength to destroy all the Indians in New Spain, if they were ever given the chance. The Indian is so phlegmatic and meek, that he would not harm a fly. Consequently, one must always assume in case of doubt that the Spaniard is the offender and the Indian is the victim.⁸

Considerably later, at the virtual end of the colonial era, Father President Fermín Francisco de Lasuén reiterated the separatist attitude long fostered by missionary rule. Articulating much the same fears as did Mendieta, Lasuén brought the matter still closer to the outright proprietary paternalism to which the friars had so accustomed themselves. "If in some missions, or in all of them," he wrote,

certain Indian men and women are sometimes denied permission to associate with certain individual people *de razón*, it is for precisely the same reasons as those for which every good father of a family in every civilized nation should forbid his children to go with bad companions.⁹

The specifics which may be read into this attitude extended to include actions of vigorous resistance to any and all perceived incursions of the secular society into the broadly-defined sphere of interest which the missionaries took as their mandate. These included opposition to institutional changes relevant to internal mission organization such as governance and land uses. Although attempts to manipulate mission internal affairs were



loudly contested by the friars, it was a relatively simple matter for them first to resist and then to put on a show of compliance, while absorbing only a minimum of change. Thus, in 1778 when Governor Felipe de Neve ordered that mission Indians commence electing their own *alcaldes*, or mayors, and *regidores*, or councilmen, Lasuén countered with narrow objections based on technicalities, then quietly yielded. However, in the end, he cleverly dodged de Neve's directive by lengthening the interval between elections and then by eliminating them entirely, substituting municipal officers appointed by missionaries.¹⁰

But not all threats to the missionary realm could be quite so easily parried. Supreme in a land where they dominated both resources and population, the friars were content to maintain the *status quo*. But the larger objectives of empire, specifically the populating of the province and the encouragement of agrarian endeavor, dictated a change in this hegemony. Felipe de Neve realized that the introduction of civil agricultural settlements was essential to California's security, if not survival,

and his term as governor was to witness the founding of two pueblos, San José de Guadalupe in 1777 and Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciúncula in 1781. It was with the establishment of San José that a new tale of acrimony began.

Father Junípero Serra was outspoken in his opposition to the introduction of secular establishments in California. The presidios he acknowledged as a necessary evil; but as for "pueblos composed of Spaniards, or of people of mixed blood," he had "never been able to see or recognize any advantage in it whatever, either on the temporal or spiritual side."¹¹ Serra believed that establishing more missions offered a better means of attaining agricultural self-sufficiency, for not only would they "be the means of supplying foodstuffs for themselves and for the Royal Presidios," but they would "accomplish this far more efficiently than these pueblos without priests."¹² However, the problem of populating the country remained, and Serra's ideas drew de Neve's sarcasm: "He forgets," wrote the governor, "that this would not people the land with Spanish subjects."¹³

Pragmatically, therefore, Serra could not easily dismiss the idea of civil towns in California. Not surprisingly, however, he relegated their advent to a date far in the future when "the gentiles that are spread throughout these lands have become Christian, and when they are settled in their various reservations or missions, . . . then will be the proper time for introducing towns of Spaniards." He warned, too, that the people must "be of good conduct and blameless life."¹⁴

If San José's colonists did not meet Serra's rigorous standards, then far less could be said for the site selected for California's first civilian settlement. In both 1778 and 1779 unseasonable flooding had inundated the pueblo, and in the latter year it languished under three feet of water. In his efforts to correct the situation, de Neve relocated the town's agricultural lands, relating that he had found a site "more suitable and closer to the population, changing the distribution which I have made."¹⁵ However, this action failed to remedy the immediate circumstances and instead initiated a prolonged round of acerbic sparring with the clerics which was to endure for twenty years.

The bitter controversy with the nearby mission at Santa Clara began to flare in earnest by the early summer of 1778. De Neve observed, "Said pueblo has not only encountered difficulties with the sowings, but also with the bad arrangement in which its lands were distributed, all in the direction in which the Mission of Santa Clara is situated."¹⁶ In June, 1778, Father Serra reiterated his vehement opposition to civil settlement to Viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli. Serra once again asserted that increasing the number of missions would provide a satisfactory solution to the problem of agricultural supply and suggested, "The settlers who can suitably fit into such a scheme—and at present their numbers are

few—should be distributed until more promising times among the missions."¹⁷

Serra took a necessary precaution in preparing the missionaries for the anticipated struggle with the secular authorities. In August, 1779, he wrote to his superior, the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, requesting that

. . . the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* (Code of Laws) [be] brought at the expense of all the missions and placed at this mission, where the President has his residence. The gentleman [Governor de Neve] has a copy, and he is outmatching us with his quotations. Although I remember quite an amount from the time I read these laws, I have also forgotten a great deal—especially the quotations. And so I would appreciate it if they came, and we can let him know he is not dealing with ignorant men.

The truth is that he will always get the better of us because of the knack he seems to have of getting around any law.¹⁸

Serra's fears notwithstanding, however, the body of laws enabled the missionaries to argue their case from an unassailable position, and their eventual defeat stemmed not from the intrinsic merits of the issue, but from the uncompromising and stubborn determination of the secular authorities to win their case.

The missionaries' "brief" may be divided into two distinct sections. One pertained to the rights of Indians and the prerogatives of Indian settlements, and the other consisted of statutes which limited the location of Spanish towns. In summary, the case presented by the religious observed that all royal officials were charged with the duty to protect and defend the rights of Indians and to punish transgressors vigorously, while the ecclesiastics' function was to insure that the privileges and prerogatives of the Indians in their jurisdictions were not jeopardized in any way.¹⁹ Consequently, Indian settlements were to have sufficient lands and water, as well as a commons of one league in length where cattle could be pastured without interference from herds belonging to Spaniards.²⁰ Once Indians were reduced to a settlement, they were to remain on that land for at least

five years in order to learn to cultivate it and profit thereby, and so they would learn the proper mode of government.²¹

With respect to limiting the settlement activities of Spaniards, the missionaries probably inadvertently omitted from their case key statutes which prohibited the founding of towns on sites that were not vacant or that were prejudicial to the interests of Indians.²² But equally appropriate was their citation of a prohibition against distributing land in newly-founded towns which adversely affected Indian holdings.²³ Infractions involving livestock were items of particular rancor with the missionaries, who invoked legislation which stipulated that ranches and other lands granted to Spaniards must not be in opposition to the interests of Indians, and if granted, such lands must be returned to their rightful owners.²⁴ More specific, however, was the stipulation that cattle ranches must not be situated within one and one-half leagues of older Indian settlements or within three leagues of new ones; otherwise, severe penalties for violations were to be exacted.²⁵ The presence of a pueblo adjacent to an Indian settlement constituted a far greater threat, or at least annoyance, than an *estancia*, or ranch, they continued. The missionaries' contentions, as it turned out, were all valid, and none were offered in rebuttal by the secular authorities.

Despite Father Serra's undisputable position, however, nothing was done to remedy what he considered to be an unjust state of affairs. Of Governor de Neve, Serra wrote, "Common sense, laws, and precedents mean nothing to him."²⁶ Further, although de Neve surely realized the sound basis on which the religious grievances rested, he

went ahead with his project, even though he often changed the plans and details of its development, and even the people who lived there. But it remained on the same site. . . . On one occasion the gentleman in question [de Neve] went so far as to admit that everything had been . . . carried out contrary to the laws. But he excused himself by saying that his

A change of site in 1785 would not have represented a major dislocation for the settlers, because their houses were only palisade structures with earthen roofs.

instructions had not been obeyed, that his wishes were that it should be in a different town. He even went so far as to hint that it would be changed.²⁷

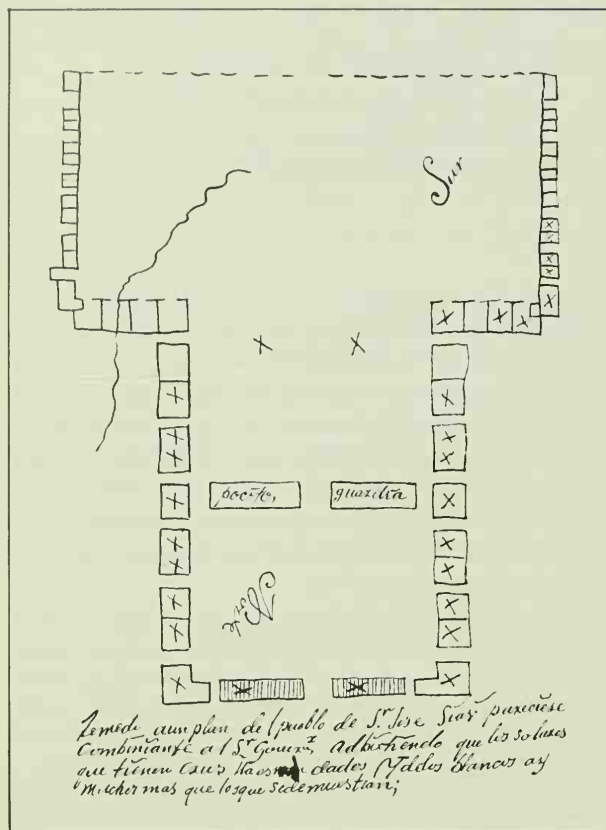
Serra continued that neither de Neve nor any other official had ever made the effort to set a boundary between the mission and pueblo because "justifiable complaints would be made and lawsuits started."²⁸ Such complaints were lodged by the missionaries at Santa Clara in 1782. They wrote to Pedro Fages, de Neve's recent successor as governor:

When we recall how short a distance there is between the two, we can see how much annoyance and damage will be caused to our poor convert Christians, and what a source of constant friction it will be to them. . . . It is contrary to His Majesty's laws that any land should be owned by citizens of the said pueblo. . . . This is clear from the measures Your Lordship might order to be made and also when you compare your findings with the laws contained in *La Nueva Recopilación de Indias*.²⁹

Serra, however, realized that righteous anger in an isolated province such as California would not convince the secular authorities in Spain to change the location of the town. Accordingly, he wrote to his superiors in frankness, "If the laws dealing with such matters, and they are very specific, are of no account, then everything else is to no avail."³⁰

Unhappily, the civilian authorities were equally frustrated in their intents. Flooding continued to plague San José despite the considerable efforts and tribulations which earlier difficulties had exacted from the settlers. In early 1785 it was first suggested that it would again be

"San José's colonists did not meet Father Serra's rigorous standards." An unsigned, undated plan of the pueblo of San José, perhaps the earliest of the pueblo.



necessary to move the town to a higher elevation, but Comisionado José Moraga hesitated to initiate such drastic action. However, the sentiment of the settlers was in favor of relocation, and in August, Governor Fages wrote to Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, commandant general of the *Provincias Internas*, requesting permission to move the town to a small nearby hill. The change of site would not have represented a major dislocation for the settlers, because at the time their houses were only palisade structures with earthen roofs.³¹ Ugarte approved the idea "as it would be more useful and advantageous," but warned that it must be done "without altering or vary-

ing . . . the limits and boundaries of the lands or districts assigned to said Town or to the contiguous Mission of Santa Clara since there is no just reason for it to claim said site."³² In other words, Ugarte stressed that the transfer of land uses must not jeopardize in any way the uneasy *modus vivendi* with the mission. Furthermore, while he intended to give the missionaries no satisfaction in their dispute of past years, he believed it was important for the location of San José to stay within the area, presumably four square leagues, which it had been assigned.

Despite the decade or so of contemplation, the move was not undertaken until 1797. In January of that year, *Alcalde* Marcos Chavoya officially requested that the town be transferred, "recognizing the deplorable situation in which the Pueblo has found itself owing to the flooding of the arroyos which surround it."³³ Governor Diego de Borica assented, but he wrote in the margin of the document, "Determination of the matter reserved until the engineer Alberto de Córdoba returns from San Diego to examine the terrain and informs me of what he has seen."³⁴ However, even before Córdoba's arrival, the Santa Clara missionaries were protesting that the change would adversely affect their interests and prerogatives.³⁵

When Córdoba arrived he was ordered to "reconnoiter carefully the environs of San José and indicate within its boundaries the site which is most proper for its transfer which is close to its tillage lands, and require the settlers to mark it off with stakes."³⁶ After Córdoba's work had been completed, Governor Borica attempted to mollify the missionaries by explaining to them how the determination had been made. Córdoba, after taking testimony from both sides "on their reciprocal claims," then proceeded to set the official boundary "not far from the lands which it today occupies, because these have been determined by the higher authorities." It was within these limits that "the settlers of said pueblo must immediately locate themselves."³⁷ The *pobladores*, or

settlers, were then instructed to "go to construct their houses on the other side of the river in case of flooding."³⁸

Despite their earlier defeat, the missionaries seized the opportunity to press their case once again. They wrote to Governor Borica, citing Libro VI, Título 3, Ley 9 of the *Recopilación*, "which prevents and prohibits Indians from leaving the lands which they had previously possessed."³⁹ At that time the friars claimed that the mission had 1,434 Indian neophytes, with 4,000 more living in surrounding *rancherías*, and thus, much more land would be required by the mission. They also argued that livestock from San José would stray from the pueblo's commons and destroy the mission's pastures.⁴⁰ Additionally, the validity of Córdoba's boundary determination was questioned.⁴¹ Complaints concerning trespassing by San José livestock had only recently been registered, which the missionaries believed to be in violation of "various royal *cédulas* (statutes) and the law," and they threatened to take their case to a superior court of appeal.⁴² But despite their apparent legal justification, even the viceroy did not see fit to take action and the matter was not broached again.⁴³

The two decades of sustained acrimony experienced in the Santa Clara Valley provided a hard-earned lesson in tactics to the secular authorities. Accordingly, in their plans of 1796-97 to found the Villa de Branciforte on the northern rim of Monterey Bay, the subterfuge of a *fait accompli* was embraced. Although there is no indication of any overt effort to conceal the plans to establish Branciforte, it must nevertheless have been a well-kept secret. The missionaries, in fact, learned of the proposed founding only two weeks before the first colonists were scheduled to arrive. Accordingly, Lasuén wrote to the president of his missionary college that the villa was "the greatest misfortune that has ever befallen

mission lands. . . . This is a flagrant violation of all law. If any remedy can be found, it would be wrong not to apply it."⁴⁴ A few days later Lasuén wrote Governor Diego de Borica, politely suggesting his disapproval of the matter. Lasuén argued:

The King knew the situation quite well, and so did his Excellency the Viceroy, and Mission Santa Cruz had already been founded with royal approval. Hence it appears to me impossible that his Majesty should wish, ordain, or approve of a villa or pueblo in the immediate neighborhood, or that his Excellency should attempt it.⁴⁵

The College of San Fernando lodged its formal protest with the office of the viceroy in August, 1797.⁴⁶ As with the case of San José, the missionaries substantiated their case with appropriate citations from the *Recopilación*, and in light of the similar circumstances underlying the two conflicts, it is perhaps worthwhile to make some comparisons. Again the friars' argument may be divided in two parts, one relevant to the protection of the rights of Indians, the other limiting the sites where towns of Spaniards might be established. In this instance the latter approach was not stressed to the viceroy, possibly because "the explanation given suffices to convince us that Your Excellency was not informed with the sincerity and truth, which the matter required, as to the site or location on which the new pueblo is projected against the express intent of such grand and equitable laws."⁴⁷ More conciliatory than before, the missionaries emphasized:

The College regards the project itself with favor as something useful. Nor does it venture to make representation in order to hamper or embarrass your Excellence. It merely desires to see the plan executed in accordance with the laws. Otherwise there will arise disputes, disorders and delays.⁴⁸

Three statutes from the *Recopilación* were cited in the Villa de Branciforte dispute which were not cited previously by the missionaries in the course of the San José-Santa Clara boundary squabble. (A second treatment of those statutes mentioned in both is unnecessary,

as they are discussed above.) The first of these—Libro IV, Título 21, Ley 8—was obviously an error;⁴⁹ the law which precedes it, No. 7, appropriately forbade the founding of new towns in areas which were already populated or which were in situations contrary to the interests of existing inhabitants.⁵⁰ Ley 12 safeguarded territory assigned to Indians from cattle pastures used by Spaniards.⁵¹ It should be emphasized that the villa and the Santa Cruz Mission were separated by the narrow San Lorenzo River and were “scarcely a stone’s throw away” from each other.⁵² Libro VI, Título 3, Ley 6 was another error, and probably the missionaries meant to refer to Ley 8, which provided for each mission “a location which has the convenience of water, arable lands . . . and a commons of one league in every direction.”⁵³

The missionaries’ protest, however, was unfortunately timed, and in light of international tensions and the viceroy’s resolution to found a town bearing his name, it is unlikely that there was any possibility of a significant change in the situation. But the protest did cause a delay and compel Borica to defend his actions. He argued in rebuttal that the mission had sufficient land for its declining Indian population and further suggested that the villa would be able to purchase whatever surplus the mission produced.⁵⁴ However, it was not until December, 1800, a hiatus of nearly three years, that the objections were laid to rest; finally, in March of 1801 the cost of the project was given final approval by the *Junta Superior de Real Hacienda* (Royal Treasury).⁵⁵

What is the explanation for the circumstances which precipitated these conflicts? In 1778 Viceroy Bucareli had reported the founding of San José to Charles III. One of the items in the report which both men must have noticed was the specific indication that the new

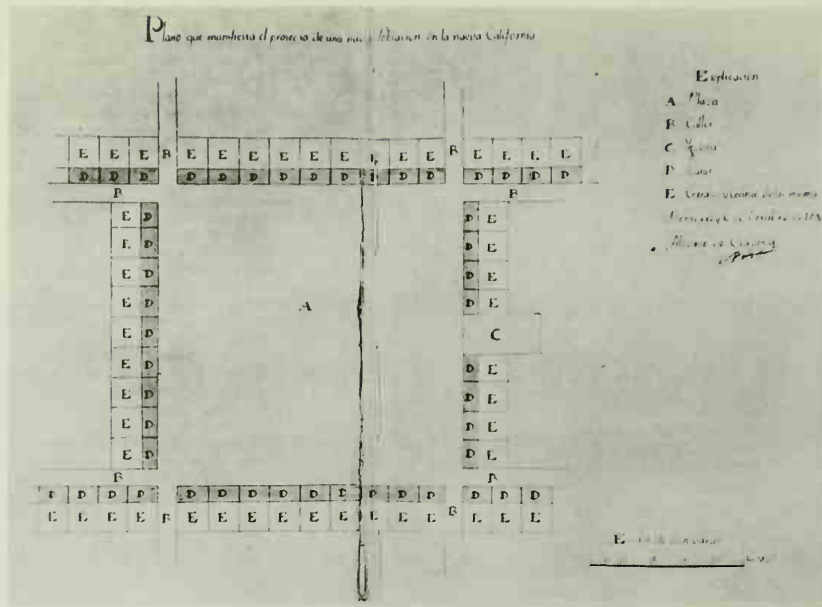
town was but three-quarters of a league from a mission, a rather suspicious proximity.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the purposes for which the town had been established received unquestioned precedence, and it is doubtful that the king would have seen fit to intervene in a dispute over a minor provincial settlement. Governor de Neve was the real culprit, because his unilateral decision to locate San José near the mission was ill-advised and contrary to law. Indeed, he had the entire Santa Clara Valley at his disposal for a site. Nevertheless, the decision was subject to higher approval, and if it had been reversed, San José would not have been the first Spanish colonial town to have been relocated during its early years. It was upon Viceroy Bucareli that the responsibility ultimately devolved, and although in him “Serra did not have a better friend,” Bucareli did not see fit to take action with respect to San José.⁵⁷ Teodoro de Croix, commandant general of the *Provincias Internas*, was directly responsible for affairs in California. Though a religious man, Croix was not an ally of the missionaries. For these reasons the decision stood to maintain San José near its original site, and there existed no further avenue for appeal for the clergy.

Similarly, a feared confrontation with England, which led to the founding of the Villa de Branciforte,⁵⁸ dictated a course of action oblivious to the niceties of statutory orthodoxy as well as to the costs of internecine squabbling. Indeed, the California boundary disputes demonstrated that missionary (and presumably Indian) interests were of such low priority that even modest accommodations were spurned in favor of wholly uncompromised attainment of secular goals. This in turn reflects the continuing intransigence of the missionaries’ attitudes concerning Indian stewardship and their chronic inability to define the well-being of the mission Indian in a context any broader than the societal isolation of the mission community. It was the increase of the Spanish population and the founding of Spanish towns, regardless of prior intents, that had become the only



Controversy over agricultural lands flared between San José and Mission Santa Clara. This 1842 sketch of the mission was made by G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, who noted that it contained 1500 Indians and "one good flock of cattle."

This 1796 plan of Branciforte, drawn and signed by Alberto de Córdoba, shows the layout of the projected new town. "A, plaza; B, streets; C, church; D, houses; and E, yards and kitchens of the same."



real goals of the California colonization. The missionaries and Indians may have been quite indispensable to the maintenance of California in the latter three decades of the eighteenth century, but their voices were rarely heard or heeded beyond the pale. For all their illusory power based on the domination of population and agricultural resources, the missionaries could never, or more correctly, would never establish their credibility as interpreters of the general welfare.

The drawing of Duran is from M. Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration de Territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies* . . . (Paris, 1844). The plan of Branciforte is from Lesley Byre Simpson, *An Early Ghost Town of California, Branciforte* (San Francisco, 1935); that of Pueblo San José is from the files of the Western Title Insurance Company, San José. The sketch of Mission Santa Clara is from the CHS Library.

Notes

- Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Boston, 1965), p. 175.
 - See Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, 23 (October, 1917): 42-61.
 - Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.: San Francisco, 1884-1890), I: 407.
- Occasionally, however, aberrant behavior transcended personal disharmony. The contentious existence of Fernando de Rivera y Moncada in California was apparently due to pathological causes. Fr. Pedro Font observed "he does not like to take suggestions from anybody about anything" (Pedro Font, *Diary of an Expedition to Monterey by Way of the Colorado River, 1775-1776*, ed. & trans. Herbert E. Bolton [Berkeley, 1933], p. 226). While attending to the distress of the San Diego Mission following the Indian uprising of 1775, Rivera's extreme course of action in dealing with one of the culprits caused Frs. Fuster, Lasuén, and Amurrio to excommunicate him (Bancroft, I: 266-267). Even Moncada's relations with his military colleagues were tempestuous. An observer of his interaction with the highly respected Juan Bautista de Anza believed that Rivera was mad; José Moraga shared this opinion (Bancroft, I: 270-271). Bancroft's assessment was perhaps more charitable: "Rivera was evidently a weak man. Whether insane, or influenced solely by a spirit of childish jealousy . . . is a question." (Bancroft I: 272).
- Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve: First Governor of California*. (San Francisco, 1971), pp. 55-61.
 - Frederick B. Pike. *The Conflict Between Church and State in Latin America* (New York, 1964), p. 6.
 - J. H. Parry, *The Audiencia in Nueva Galicia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Spanish Colonial Government* (Cambridge, England, 1948), pp. 59-60.
 - J. Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru Under the Hapsburgs, 1530-1700* (Durham N.C., 1954), p. 234.
 - Quoted in John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, 1956), p. 61.
 - Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, *Writings*, ed. & trans. Finbar Kenneally, O. F. M. (2 vols.; Washington D.C., 1965), II: 212.
 - For a discussion of this point, see Daniel J. Garr, "Planning, Politics and Plunder: The Missions and Indian Pueblos of Hispanic California," *Southern California Quarterly*, 54 (Winter, 1972): p. 296.
 - Serra to Teodoro de Croix, Monterey, August 22, 1778, Junípero Serra, *Writings*, ed. Antonine Tibesar, O. F. M. (4 vols.: Washington, D.C., 1955-1966), III: 263.
 - Ibid.*, 255.

13. Quoted in Bancroft, I: 314. See also Daniel J. Garr, "A Rare and Desolate Land: Population and Race in Hispanic California," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 6 (April, 1975): 133-148.
14. Serra, III: 255.
15. Felipe de Neve to Teodoro de Croix, Monterey, August 11, 1778, California Archives, Bancroft Library (CA), Provincial Records (5 vols.), I: 92.
16. *Ibid.*, 9. The mission had been founded ten months earlier in January, 1777.
17. Serra to Bucareli, Monterey, June 30, 1778, *Serra Writings* III: 199.
18. Serra to Fr. Rafael Verger, Monterey, August 15, 1779, *Serra Writings* III: 133.
19. *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, 4th ed. (3 vol.: Madrid, 1791), II: Libro IV, Título 4, Ley 5, 13; II: Libro VI, Título 1, Ley 1, 189-190.
20. *Ibid.*, II: Libro VI, Título 3, Ley 8, 209. An ordinance promulgated by Philip V in 1713 was also listed. It differed from the preceding in that the commons had to consist of one league in every direction; this regulation is not listed in the annotations in the *Recopilación* to the ley cited above (ordinance cited in Maynard J. Geiger, O. F. M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (2 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1959), II: 196.
21. *Ibid.*, II: Libro VI, Título 1, Ley 20, 194; II: Libro VI, Título 3, Ley 8, 209.
22. *Ibid.*, II: Libro IV, Título 5, Ley 6, 16; II: Libro IV, Título 7, Ley 1, 19.
23. *Ibid.*, II: Libro IV, Título 12, Ley 7, 41.
24. *Ibid.*, II: Libro IV, Título 12, Ley 9, 41.
25. *Ibid.*, II: Libro IV, Título 3, Ley 20, 211-212.
26. Serra to Fr. Francisco Pangua and the Discretorium, Monterey, December 8, 1782, *Serra Writings*, IV: 169.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, 169-171.
29. Frs. José Antonio Marquía and Tomás de la Peña to Governor Pedro Fages, Santa Clara, November 2, 1782, *Serra Writings*, IV: 397.
30. Serra to Pangua, *et al.*, *Serra Writings*, IV: 169.
31. Bancroft, I: 479.
32. Ugarte y Loyola to Fages, Arispe, June 21, 1787, CA, State Papers. Missions and Colonization (2 vols.), I: 271.
33. Chavoya to Governor Diego de Borica, San José, January 10, 1797, CA, Provincial State Papers (13 vols.), IX: 25-26.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Fr. Francisco Sánchez to Borica, Mission Santa Clara, April 30, 1797, CA, State Papers. Missions and Colonization, I: 269. There is a document from about 1790 which indicates that the land to the south of what is presumably Coyote Creek belongs to the pueblo and that on the north side to the mission. (Anonymous, n. pl., n. d. (c. 1790), CA, Departmental State Papers. San José (2 vols.) I: 45.
36. Borica to Córdoba, Monterey, May 11, 1797, CA, Provincial State Papers, Indices, 257.
37. Borica to Sánchez, Monterey, May 11, 1797, CA, State Papers. Missions and Colonization, I: 92-93.
38. Ignacio Vallejo to Borica, San José, September 26, 1797, CA, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 344. The move was to the east side of the Guadalupe River.
39. *Recopilación*, II: Libro VI, Título 3, Ley 9, 208.
40. The first of these documented incidents appears to have occurred in 1794 (José Pérez Fernandez to Borica, San Francisco, December 1, 1794, CA, Provincial State Papers, VII: 34).
41. Frs. Magín Catala and José Viader to Borica, Mission Santa Clara, August 6, 1797, CA, State Papers. Missions and Colonization, I: 276-280.
42. Frs. Isidoro Barcenilla to Ignacio Vallejo, San José, October 9, 1797, CA, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 351-352.
43. De la Peña to Viceroy Miguel José de Azanza, Mexico, Colegio de San Fernando, July 27, 1798, CA, State Papers. Missions and Colonization, I: 46-51.
44. Lasuén to Fr. Pedro Callejas, Mission San Carlos, May 1, 1797, Lasuén, II: 26.
45. Lasuén to Borica, Mission San Carlos, May 5, 1797, *ibid.*, 27.
46. College of San Fernando to Viceroy Branciforte, Mexico, August 30, 1797, cited in Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (4 vols.: San Francisco, 1908-1915), II: 517-519.
47. College to Viceroy, *ibid.*
48. College to Viceroy, *ibid.*
49. *Recopilación*, II: Libro IV, Título 12, Ley 8, 41.
50. *Ibid.*, II: Libro IV, Título 12, Ley 7, 41.
51. *Ibid.*, II: Libro IV, Título 12, Ley 12, 42.
52. College to Viceroy, Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II: 517-519.
53. *Recopilación*, II: Libro VI, Título 3, Ley 8, 209.
54. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, February 6, 1798, cited in Bancroft, I: 572.
55. Fiscal to Viceroy Felix Berenguer de Marquina, Mexico, December 11, 1800, cited in Florian F. Guest, O. F. M., "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 41 (March, 1962): p. 43.
56. Bucareli to Charles III, Mexico, July 27, 1778, *La Administración de D. Frey Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua*, ed. Romulo Velasco Ceballos (2 vols.; Mexico, 1936), I: 436-437.
57. Quoted in *Serra Writings*, I: xvi.
58. For more information on the international pressures on Spain, see Guest, "Villa de Branciforte"; Daniel J. Garr, "Villa de Branciforte: Innovation and Adaptation on the Frontier," *The Americas*, Summer, 1978; and William Ray Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy* (1905).

*From the University of California
Archives—Muybridge Views of
Berkeley in 1874*

The University of California Archives in The Bancroft Library is much more than a collection of dusty, bureaucratic documents. The archives also contains lively material of interest both to historians and the general public. Two years ago in this magazine's pages, University Archivist J. R. K. Kantor described the archival collection of Sather Gate political handbills and broadsides. In this issue, Dr. Kantor discusses another valuable holding: stereographic views of the new Berkeley campus taken in 1874 by the noted photographer, Eadweard Muybridge. The stereographs are among the earliest existing photographs of the University of California campus. Although published purely as commercial items to be sold to the general public by Bradley & Rulofson of San Francisco, many of the views have artistic merit, and all are valuable historic artifacts.

In September of 1873 the fledgling University of California, then in its fifth year, moved from cramped quarters in downtown Oakland to a new campus at Berkeley. By that time two permanent buildings had been constructed, a president with scholarly credentials had been called from Yale, and 191 students had enrolled. There were few dwellings in the rural area bordering the university grounds, and the south entrance (where Sather Gate would eventually stand) was marked by a small wooden bridge spanning Strawberry Creek. Faculty and students, for the most part, commuted. "It takes two hours and a quarter to come from San Francisco to Berkeley, and one hour and a half from Oakland to Berkeley," commented the *University Echo*, one of the two undergraduate newspapers. Early in 1874 the Berkeley Hotel opened its doors on the corner of Bancroft Way and Choate Street (later Telegraph Avenue). "This Magnificent Hotel was built expressly with a view to comfort and convenience. Two, three and four rooms can be thrown into one if desired. Marble basins and grates in every room." A French restaurant

Mr. Kantor is the Archivist of the University of California.



Illustrated by MUYBRIDGE.

CALIFORNIA.

Published by BRADLEY & RULOFSON.



1762 - STATE UNIVERSITY, BERKELEY, COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE. A Lecture on the cultivation of grapes by Professor Joseph G. Smith.

Published by BRADLEY & RULOFSON.

CALIFORNIA.

Illustrated by MUYBRIDGE.

Illustrated by MUYBRIDGE.

CALIFORNIA.

Published by BRADLEY & RULOFSON.



1757 - STATE UNIVERSITY, BERKELEY, College of Agriculture; West Front.

Published by BRADLEY & RULOFSON.

CALIFORNIA.

Illustrated by MUYBRIDGE.

had also opened, and later a grocery and meat market advertising "all goods at Oakland prices."

This was the scene which greeted Eadweard Muybridge when he crossed San Francisco Bay in April with his camera and equipment. Perhaps he was more spirited than usual, for his wife had given birth to a son on the fifteenth of that month and his marital troubles were still in the future. The photographer had arranged with Bradley & Rulofson to issue stereographic views of his university scenes, and several eventually found their way into the University Archives when Joseph Cummings Rowell, a member of the Class of 1874, was appointed the university's first librarian one year following his graduation. (Rowell was editor of *The Berkeleyan* in the spring of 1874 when the report of Muybridge's visit was noted in its pages.) Along with the better-known views of the university grounds taken by Carleton E. Watkins during the same year, Muybridge's photographs are certainly among the first taken on the Berkeley campus.

Construction of the university's College of Agriculture, better known as South Hall, was begun in May of 1870, delayed due to lack of funding, and finally completed in 1873. When it became apparent that one building would not suffice, plans were drawn up for the College of Letters, or North Hall. Both were designed by David Farquharson of San Francisco, who had also created a plan for the development of the campus which was to include colleges of mining, mechanical arts, and civil engineering, an observatory, and a Hall of California, as well as quarters for faculty and students.

Because South Hall alone was fireproof, it was thought best to place the university's small library there, along with the laboratories, the science lecture room, and the temporary museum rooms for display of the collections of the state geological survey and other specimens. Librarian Rowell, in reminiscences written in the 1930's, recalled that "when the wind was in the right direction, the pungent fumes of chlorine and other equally effi-

Muybridge spent a couple of days recently taking pictures of the University buildings, and the various rooms in them. The Berkeleyan office is soon to have a set of them.

(The Berkeleyan, May 1874)

cacious disinfectants were wafted into the sacred precincts [of the library], to the utter destruction of all book worms (except bipeds)."

Instruction in the sciences was given over to the LeConte brothers, John and Joseph, who had arrived in Berkeley from South Carolina following the Civil War. Physics was John's domain, while Joseph's lectures encompassed the entire field of natural history—botany, geology, and zoology.

North Hall, the larger of the university's first two buildings and whose site is now occupied by The Bancroft Library, housed a large assembly room, the philosophy lecture hall, and classrooms for mathematics, civil engineering, history, English literature, and ancient and modern languages, as well as faculty rooms and club rooms for men and women students.

The University Printing Office, which occupied a large room in the upper story of North Hall, had been established "to provide needy students with profitable labor and to print for the university its catalogues and other needed items." In a report to President Daniel Coit Gilman in March, 1874, it was noted that "with the present month's issue of *The Berkeleyan*, about \$250 will have been earned since the first of January last, the greater part of which has been collected and distributed among the employed students. Twelve young men and five young ladies have become more or less proficient in the art since that time. Some earn their board and others

Illustrated by MUYBRIDGE.

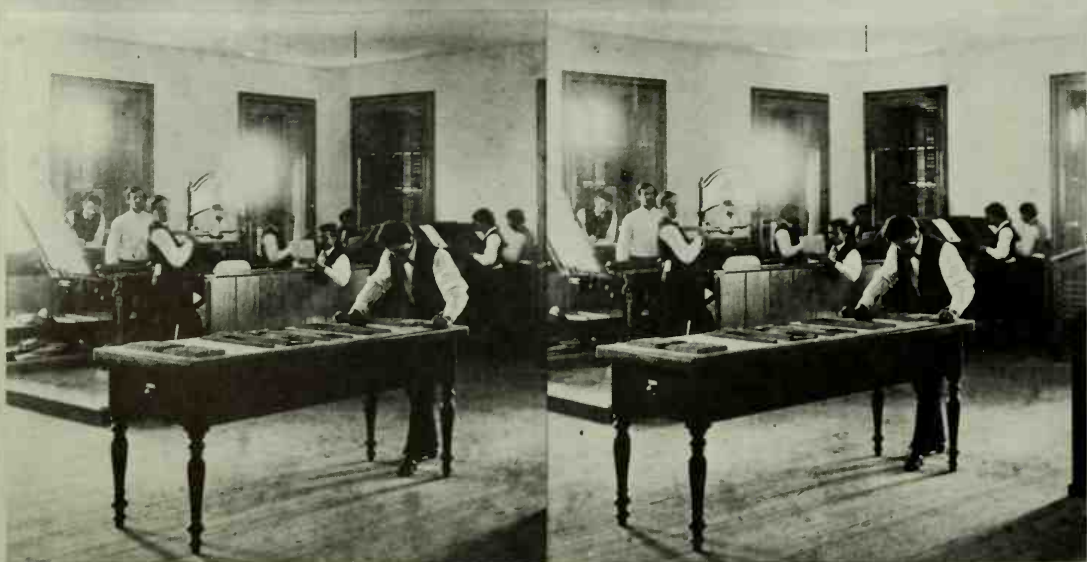
Published by BRADLEY & RULOFSON.



1761—STATE UNIVERSITY BERKELEY, College of Letters: Club Room.

Illustrated by MUYBRIDGE.

Published by BRADLEY & RULOFSON.



1761—STATE UNIVERSITY BERKELEY, College of Letters: Printing Office.

would do so, were there work enough for all their spare hours."

In his three years at the school, President Gilman, perhaps more than any other man, set the tone for the new university. In his inaugural address delivered in November, 1872, he had said of the young institution:

It is the university of this State. It must be adapted to this people, to their public and private schools, to their peculiar geographical position, to the requirements of their new society and their undeveloped resources. It is not the foundation of an ecclesiastical body nor of private individuals. It is 'of the people and for the people'—not in any low or unworthy sense, but in the highest and noblest relations to their intellectual and moral well-being.

Gilman often addressed the students in the assembly room of North Hall, in which were hung the twenty-

eight views of Yosemite Valley taken by Carleton E. Watkins and presented by him as one of the first major gifts to the institution. Increasing conflict with the Regents of the University led to Gilman's resignation in 1875 and his taking up the presidency of the newly-established John Hopkins University in Baltimore.

By the close of the 1870's the campus had grown, and two new buildings had been added—the Mechanical Arts Building in 1878 and the original Harmon Gymnasium in 1879. Student cottages had been built along Strawberry Creek at the west side of the grounds, and a community of houses was establishing itself to the south. And with the establishment of Berkeley as a city in 1878, the university at last had a proper postal address. No longer would mail be directed to "Berkeley (near Oakland)."



Book Reviews

The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827.

Edited by George R. Brooks. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977. 259 pp. Folding map. \$29.95.)

Reviewed by John C. Paige, Research Historian for the Southeast-Southwest Team of the Historical Preservation Division of the National Park Service.

The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith presents a fascinating chronicle of early western exploration. This work represents the eighteenth book in the Western Frontiersman Series published by the Arthur H. Clark Company and is a previously unpublished transcription of Smith's remarkable California sojourn. The journey began on August 7, 1826, when Smith and his small party of fur trappers left the Soda Springs Rendezvous and travelled across desert plains to Spanish California. They arrived at the San Gabriel Mission after a trip fraught with perils, and there most of the party rested. Smith and a few others travelled south to San Diego, returning to the San Gabriel Mission by sea. There the reunited band moved up the coast and inland, attempting unsuccessfully to cross the icy fastness of the Sierra Nevada Range near present day Sacramento. Finally, at Ebbetts Pass, they breached the mountain barrier and raced across the desert, arriving at the Bear Lake Rendezvous on July 3, 1827. The story of this adventure is told in Smith's narrative of the trip and the daybook account of fellow-adventurer Harrison G. Rogers.

Adding to the enjoyment of this epic is the well-done technical work of the Arthur H. Clark Company which is evidenced in the binding, paper, and printing of the book. The paper used for the map illustrations is a bit flimsy and folds awkwardly, however, thus marring the overall excellence of the workmanship. George Brooks edited the manuscript in the same workmanlike way, leaving as much as possible of the original punctuation, spelling, and capitalization. His reasoning was that "the text could have been smoothed out, but in doing so it would have broken the style and rhythm of Smith . . . and something of the first-hand experience would have been lost." This was a fortuitous decision, for Smith's narrative has an appealing style and imparts the robust flavor of the prose of the period.

Jedediah Smith took meticulous notes on everything in the new land. He commented on the flora, fauna, and mineral wealth of the country and incisively wrote of the indigenous populations of the regions. This attention to detail gives the reader a varied and exciting portrait of exploration.

The most distracting shortcoming of the book is the footnoting which occasionally lapses into frivolous digressions that do not substantively add to the material in the text. However, the work is worthwhile reading for both professional and amateur historians interested in early western exploration and Spanish California. One also gets insight into the prejudices, fears and dreams of Jedediah Smith, a most extraordinary man in a trade exemplified by extraordinary men. Through the writings of Smith, one begins to understand the ideas and attitudes that were the embryonic stirrings of manifest destiny in Jacksonian America.

The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942.

By John Modell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977. xii, 201 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Nadine I. Hata, Associate Professor of History, Vice-chairperson of the California State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and California State Historical Resources Commissioner.

The years 1900-1942 saw the arrival and establishment of the first (Issei) and second (Nisei) generations of what is now the largest concentration of Japanese Americans in the continental United States. Their ability to survive and succeed in the face of strong nativist and racist opposition in pre-World War II California was in large measure due to an accommodationist posture, a subject which forms the organizing theme of this published doctoral dissertation (Columbia University, 1969) by John Modell.

The principal value of this book is in Modell's detailed and comprehensive review, replete with copious footnotes, of the diverse and voluminous materials in English relating to the Japanese in Los Angeles—including the Japanese American vernacular press, unpublished theses and dissertations, and private and public documents. An initial discussion of posi-

tive and negative stereotypes is followed by a chronological and topical analysis of accommodationist strategies employed by the Issei immigrant pioneers and their American-born Nisei descendants to cope with a hostile economic and political environment. Their success was a combination of stubborn endurance and adaptation of traditional Japanese values and institutions to the American scene.

With certain areas of the local economy closed to them, Issei turned to domestic service and hotel keeping, truck farming of fruits and vegetables, and coastal fishing. The traditional practice of *tanomoshi-ko* or flexible rotating credit system provided for financial assistance in these early entrepreneurial efforts which also included food and flower wholesaling and processing. The need to coordinate economic activities and unite against racial discrimination led to the formation of numerous occupational associations such as the Japanese Fishermen, the Wholesale Market Operators, the Japanese Farm Federation, and even the Southern California (Japanese) Chop Suey Operators. Laborers also saw the need for unity. In 1937 Nisei fruitstand workers organized the Southern California Retail Produce Workers Union. Other community groups reflected the persistence of old country ties along with an overriding impulse toward Americanization: prefectural associations (*kenjinkai*) maintained regional loyalties and offered social services; Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines served as religious and social welfare centers—and reflected the inexorable need to adapt by adopting Sunday services and sponsoring Boy Scouts and baseball leagues. As the acculturated Nisei found themselves excluded from positions of power by the Issei-dominated hierarchy, they in turn formed their own social, political and economic units such as the Japanese American Citizens League and the Nisei Business Bureau.

In his Preface, Modell notes that he "cannot honestly claim to have always seen beneath the public surface of the Japanese community" because he does not read the language and is "neither a Japanese American nor a Californian." This reviewer does not consider those problems insurmountable, but in another statement the author acknowledges what is perhaps the major weakness of his study: "My most central concern was accommodation as a *public* position. . . . I now wish there were, added to this, more effort directed to achieving a less external view of group process." His study is limited therefore to an "outsider's" perspective, albeit a comprehensive one, and does not penetrate the inner dynamics and nuances hidden behind the facade of consensus decision-

making and public posturing which were both characteristic of the Issei and Nisei community leadership and necessary because of the local, national and international tensions of the times.

With these qualifications the book is a useful gap-filler. What is needed now is a study with more empathy and focus on what really went on among the "insiders."

Hastings College of the Law, The First Century.

By Thomas Garden Barnes. (San Francisco: University of California Hastings College of the Law Press, 1978. 457 pp. \$19.50.)

Reviewed by Verne A. Stadtman, Associate Director and Editor of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education and author of The University of California 1868-1968.

Any history of a professional school that begins when formal professional education was still very young and crudely developed cannot help but be, in considerable part, a history of the profession itself. One of the strengths of Professor Thomas Garden Barnes' centennial history of Hastings College of the Law is that it provides precisely such a history of the legal profession in California at the same time that it traces the development of the institution. As his story unfolds, one can easily follow the ups and downs of an institution that has survived a hundred years at least as much by gall and ingenuity as by design and fortune. But one can also watch the maturing of the legal profession in California.

Part of that maturation is suggested by the evolution of the college's curriculum, which Professor Barnes traces meticulously from the beginning in 1878-79, when everything it was believed a practicing attorney needed to know could be taught in one carefully designed "system," to the present, when the faculty no longer attempts to teach everything to everyone because there is just too much law to know. The development of the profession is also discerned in the steadily rising admissions and graduation standards of the college. It is also to be inferred from the fact that although none of the school's first directors was a college graduate—though they were all members of the San Francisco Bar—its own alumni soon were counted among the best known lawyers in

San Francisco, if not the state. Many also held positions of power and influence in city governments, the legislature, and the judiciary. Some of them even became directors of Hastings itself, joining a board now totally dominated by college and university graduates.

This is not to say that the uniqueness of Hastings has been ignored. The author gives us an interesting and accurate portrait. His characterizations of founder Serranus Clinton Hastings, influential first professor John Norton Pomeroy, and Deans Charles William Slack, Edward Robeson Taylor, and David E. Snodgrass are particularly full and enlightening. The chapter on Hastings' famous "Sixty-five Club" admirably explains how and why the college anticipated by two or three decades the national questioning of compulsory retirement policies that squander seasoned wisdom and experience. Throughout the book one is also repeatedly reminded of the sometimes comic, sometimes exasperating, consequences of the college's imperfect affiliation with the University of California.

Professor Barnes, an historian and a legal scholar, was an excellent choice for writing the history of Hastings' first 100 years. Non-lawyers may occasionally be left at sea when the author's legal scholarship dominates, but perseverance will be rewarded.

*Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in
Nineteenth-Century San Francisco.*

By Peter R. Decker. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978. xvi, 336 pp. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, reviews editor of California History.

Social mobility studies of American cities are, almost by definition, exercises in historical revisionism. Most authors of such studies seek to revise the common assumption that the United States has been an open society in which poor, hard-working people can rise to the top. In fact, most recent urban historians find little social mobility in American cities. The class lines seem to have quickly formed in the nineteenth century and remained intact into the twentieth.

Peter Decker's study of San Francisco from 1847 to 1880

is generally within this revisionist tradition. If San Francisco really had been an open society, he contends, "the composition of the city's 1880 elite would have included fewer pioneer sons, considerably more Italians, Germans, Poles and Irish, and a far larger proportion of people who had, at one time in their life, worked with their hands." Decker admits that there was some upward mobility during the boom years from 1849 to 1853, but after that opportunities for occupational gains were no greater than in eastern cities.

The book does not quite live up to its subtitle. Decker deals almost entirely with merchants, not the whole white-collar class. But merchants are an interesting group, since the most successful of them became the city's first elite during the early Gold Rush years. According to Decker, this elite suffered greatly from the economic decline of the late 1850's, faced increasing competition from foreign-born businessmen during the 1860's, and largely lost out to new investors in transportation and industry during the 1870's. He interprets the emergence of the Vigilance Committee of 1856 and the Pick-Axe Handle Brigade of 1877 as attempts of the elite to maintain its status and power during times of economic hardship and social upheaval.

Much of Decker's evidence consists of biographical data programmed for analysis by computer. There also is a good deal of non-statistical material, including individual case-studies which give the book a welcome human dimension. Decker's most intriguing source is the nineteenth-century files of R. G. Dun Company (now Dun and Bradstreet) which contain credit reports on three million Americans, including many San Francisco merchants. These reports were remarkable invasions of privacy, containing much personal material and clearly favoring native-born, white people of "good family" and sober habits. Given the class and ethnic biases displayed by the reports, the success of San Francisco's German Jewish merchants is particularly impressive.

If nothing else, the book shatters the myth that all Gold Rush merchants made fortunes. Financial failure was common even in good years. Success depended not only on hard work, but also on family and friendship ties, access to eastern capital, and a good deal of luck. Decker analyzes some of the products of success: memberships in key social organizations and homes in elite neighborhoods apart from the working class districts.

The book's text is sometimes repetitive, and Decker oversimplifies the complicated phenomenon of California vigilantism. His data tell us nothing about the ultimate financial



and social status of the very large portion of merchants who left the city in mid-career. Nevertheless, the book provides a fine insight into the commercial life of San Francisco during its formative years and offers a challenging interpretation of the social development of a western American city.

The Richest Place on Earth: The Story of Virginia City and the Heyday of the Comstock Lode.

By Warren Hinckle and Frederic Hobbs. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978. x, 173 pp. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by Oscar Lewis, author of many books and articles on western history.

From the time the extent and richness of Virginia City's silver ore became known to the world, that Nevada town has never lacked historians. Beginning in 1876 with the publication of Dan De Quille's *The History of the Big Bonanza* (still one of the best of the lot), attempts to capture the peculiar interest and excitement of the place have been so numerous that today the literature of the Comstock—histories, biographies, books of reminiscences, even occasional novels and plays—fill several shelves in most libraries of Western America.

Why did this remote and relatively small community—during its heyday Virginia City had about the population of today's Modesto or Salinas—happen to gain so much at-

tention and to hold it so long? The answer to that question is suggested by the title of the present book, for there was a time when Virginia City might indeed have been "The Richest Place on Earth." So generous was the yield of its mines that one property, the Consolidated Virginia, was paying its lucky owners dividends of more than \$1 million per month, and others were not far behind. Because a few dollars invested in a Comstock stock could, and frequently did, increase in value a hundred-fold overnight, in San Francisco and elsewhere it set off an orgy of speculation in which virtually the entire population took part. Thus, trading in Comstock stocks produced a small group of multimillionaires while gathering in the savings of many thousands. Yet Comstock silver rebuilt much of downtown San Francisco, helped finance the North during the Civil War, and made Virginia City and its environs the wishing-well for the financially hopeful all over the West.

The volume under review is a brief but reasonably inclusive retelling of the familiar Comstock story. While it breaks no new ground—what new can be said at this late date?—it is well organized, fast paced, and holds the interest throughout. A word should be said about the illustrations, for here we have not the reproductions of pioneer photographs found in most Comstock books, but a series of drawings. The latter are both numerous, occupying at least a third of the book's less than 200 pages, and filled with action. In "Notes on the Drawings" at the end of the volume, the artist explains that the purpose of his dramatic treatment of his subjects was to convey "the experience rather than a picture of the experience." How well he succeeds in this each viewer must decide for himself.

California.

Edited by Robert F. Heizer. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978. Volume 8 in *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, Series Editor. xv, 800 pp. \$13.50.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, Department of History, Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill.

California is the most important book to be published in the field of California Indian studies since the appearance of Alfred Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* more than a half-century ago. Although the editor of the present volume cautions that it should be seen as a complement to, and not a replacement of, Kroeber's *Handbook*, most certainly *California* will now become the standard reference work on the California Indians.

In seventy-two chapters written by forty-seven different authors, this book—the first completed volume in the Smithsonian's new twenty-volume *Handbook of North American Indians*—offers encyclopedic treatment of the history and culture of the native people of California. More than half of the chapters describe a particular tribe or group of closely related tribes, covering such topics as social and political organization, religion, diseases and cures, material culture, literature, art, and music. Most of these chapters are written by anthropologists—such as Campbell Grant on the Chumash and Lowell John Bean on the Cahuilla—who are recognized authorities in their respective fields. California historians will

be especially interested in the summaries of tribal history included in each of these chapters. The tribal histories, which include not only accounts of early Indian-white relations but also such modern topics as the disputes between the Pit River Indians and Pacific Gas and Electric, constitute a comprehensive survey of California Indian history. These historical sections provide many opportunities for comparative study—one begins to understand, for example, why the Wiyot underwent virtual extermination while the neighboring Hupa were able to survive with territory and culture largely intact.

In addition to the chapters on individual California tribes, a number of chapters deal with more general topics such as Historical Demography (S. F. Cook), Basketry (Albert B. Elsasser), and Intergroup Conflict (Thomas McCorkle). Of special interest here is the survey of The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement by Edward D. Castillo, a former instructor in the Native American Studies Program at Berkeley. Castillo does an admirable job in compressing his topic into thirty pages of narrative, and in a separate chapter on Twentieth-Century Secular Movements, he provides a very useful summary of contemporary Indian affairs in the state. At some points his discussion of Indian-white relations in the Spanish period bears a remarkable similarity in tone and composition to Jack Forbes' *Native Americans in California and Nevada*. Castillo offers a revision of what he calls the "simplistic contention" that California Indians were a docile people rapidly subdued by Europeans. While it is true that Indian resistance to the Hispanic and Anglo-American presence in California often has been ignored by historians, Castillo may overstate his case by claiming that after 1769, California Indians were "locked in a violent struggle" for two centuries. The record of active resistance until 1873 is clear enough, but Castillo's evidence for the continuation of a "violent struggle" in the second century of contact is weak. Castillo also mistakenly identifies the "Episcopalian orders" as the group given responsibility for the California reservations in the 1870's; it was the policy of the Grant administration to fill positions in the California superintendency with ministers and laymen recommended by the Methodist Church.

Other strengths of *California* include its liberal use of photographs and drawings (many never before published), detailed maps of the territory of each tribe, and an excellent index which permits easy cross reference to hundreds of topics in California Indian history and culture.

The Chemeluevis, as rendered by H. B. Möllhausen



Collection, Use, and Care of Historical Photographs.

By Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977. 222 pp. \$16.00.)

Shoots: A Guide to Your Family's Photographic Heritage.

By Thomas L. Davies. (Danbury, New Hampshire: Addison House, 1977. 72 pp. \$3.95.)

Reviewed by Laverne Mau Dicker, CHS Photographs Curator and author of a forthcoming photographic history of the Chinese in San Francisco.

Since the birth of the daguerreotype in 1839, history and photography have been inseparable. Photographs preserve a single moment in history forever, impartially, and are thus an excellent tool with which to analyze the past. In recent years, public interest in historical photographs has been keen. "What was daily life like?" researchers ask. "What did people wear, what did their businesses look like, how did they furnish their houses?" Photographs of "the way it was" are widely used in books, films, television documentaries, and advertising. Enlarged into life-sized murals, they grace the walls of banks, restaurants, and boutiques. Archives and museums have begun to collect historical photographs in earnest, prompted by the ever-increasing demand for new and different views of the past.

Collecting photographs in large quantities presents special problems relating to organization, storage, and care, but until recently few guidelines existed. Last year, however, two dissimilar books on the subject were published.

Collecting, Use, and Care of Historical Photographs by Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth was an important publication for collectors and archivists. Written by two well-known California lecturer-consultants on historical photographs (Weinstein has an extensive private collection and Booth is Curator of Title Insurance and Trust's collection in San Diego), this book is without a doubt the most up-to-date, comprehensive guide of its kind. It provides excellent treatment of three universal curatorial problems—cataloguing, conservation, and restoration—and more importantly, offers possible solutions. A major fault of many technical works is

that answers are not carried far enough. The reader asks, "What should I store my photographs in?" and is told, "Triacetate sleeves." Period. Not so in Weinstein and Booth's book. A detailed appendix lists names and addresses of manufacturers and distributors, as well as additional sources of information.

Quite aside from its technical aspects, *Care of Historical Photographs* is interesting, offering something for everyone. It includes a concise history of photography and fascinating illustrations, e.g. a daguerreotype of Frederick Douglass; Chinese typesetters in San Francisco; a private Hollywood art gallery, circa 1900; Adam C. Vroman's camera club at Mission San Juan Capistrano. One would expect that such a definitive work would be the size of Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary*, but the authors have fit it all into 222 portable pages.

Where *Care of Historical Photographs* was aimed at a professional audience, *Shoots* by Thomas L. Davies was written with the amateur photohistorian in mind. It is a good, readable little book which attempts to help the reader organize the haphazard collection of snapshots every family has locked away in closets and attics, and it is especially strong in its treatment of photographic processing, e.g. printing glass negatives and cyanotypes, doing routine copy work. However, when dealing with restoration it is simply not detailed enough. Here, a little learning is a dangerous thing. Rare and valuable images can be lost through careless restoration techniques. Although Davies issues a brief warning about not touching a bare daguerreotype plate, he fails to mention that the chemical restoration process he outlines may dissolve delicate tinting; and that the thiourea solution may make the condition of a fogged plate worse. In like manner, he warns that nitrate negatives (used before safety film made its appearance in the early 1930's) are "quite combustible," but he does not emphasize that the material is capable of spontaneous combustion.

In short, *Shoots* is recommended background reading for the family shutterbug, but serious collectors and professionals in the field of historical photography will want to consult Weinstein and Booth's *Care of Historical Photographs*. Thomas L. Davies did.

California Check List

By Gary Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1978-79) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Anderson, Eugene N. *Annotated bibliography of the Chumash and their predecessors*. Rev. ed. Socorro, New Mexico: Ballena Press, 1978. 82 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 1366, Socorro, New Mexico 87801. \$5.95.

Potter, Theodore Edgar. *The autobiography of Theodore Edgar Potter*. Ann Arbor: Historical Society of Michigan, 1978. 251 pp. Publisher, 2117 Washtenaw Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. \$9.95.

Bagley, Helen. *Sand in my shoes. Homestead days in Twenty-Nine Palms*. San Bernardino: D-J Books, 1978. Publisher, P. O. Box 3352, San Bernardino, California 92413. \$8.95.

Bergon, Frank and Zeese Papanikolas (eds.). *Looking far west. The search for the American West in history, myth, and literature*. Bergenfield, New Jersey: New American Library, 1978. 476 pp. Publisher, 120 Woodbine Street, Bergenfield, New Jersey 07621. \$2.50.

Bowen, Helen Gilman. *Mount Shasta or bust*. Fullerton: by author, 1978. 189 pp. Little Professor Book Center, 148 E. Yorba Linda Blvd., Placentia, California 92670. \$13.95.

Brown, Lauren R. *The Point Loma Theosophical Society: A list of publications, 1898-1942*. San Diego: Friends of the University of California at San Diego Library, 1977. Publisher, San Diego, California 92115.

Burmeister, Eugene. *The Golden Empire; Kern County, California*. Beverly Hills, California: Autograph Press, 1977. 168 pp.

Carlson, Dick. *Women in San Diego . . . a history in photographs*. San Diego: San

Diego Historical Society, 1978. Publisher, P. O. Box 81825, San Diego, California 92138. \$1.00.

Cars of Pacific Electric. Vol. III. Glendale: Interurbans, 1978. 336 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 6444, Glendale, California 91205. \$12.00.

Decker, Peter. *Fortunes and failures. White collar mobility in nineteenth century San Francisco*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978. 336 pp. \$20.00.

Early man of the Monterey peninsula. Monterey: Monterey County Archaeological Society, 1978. Publisher, P. O. Box 4606, Carmel, California 93921. \$6.95.

Easton, Robert. *Guns, gold, and caravans: The extraordinary life of Fred Meyer Schroder*. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1978. 256 pp. Publisher, 631 State Street, Santa Barbara, California 93101. \$11.95.

Hague, Harlan. *The Road to California; the search for a southern overland route, 1540-1848*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1978. 325 pp. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale, California 91209. \$20.50.

History and Business Directory of Shasta County, 1881. Redding: Shasta Historical Society, 1978. Publisher, P. O. Box 277, Redding, California 96001. \$12.50.

Hill, Dorothy J. *The Indians of Chico Rancheria*. Chico: Bidwell Mansion Cooperating Association, 1978. Publisher, 525 Esplanade, California 95926. \$3.20.

Hogue, Helen. *Wintu Trails*. Rev. ed. Redding: Shasta Historical Society, 1977. 96 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 277, Redding, California 96001. \$4.00.

Japanese American Citizens League. *The Japanese Incarceration: A case for redress*. San Francisco: The National Committee for Redress, Japanese American Citizens League, 1978. 28 pp. Publisher, National Headquarters, 1765 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California 94115. No charge for single copies.

Kroeber, A. L. *Yurok Myths*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. 528 pp. \$6.95 paper, \$18.50 cloth.

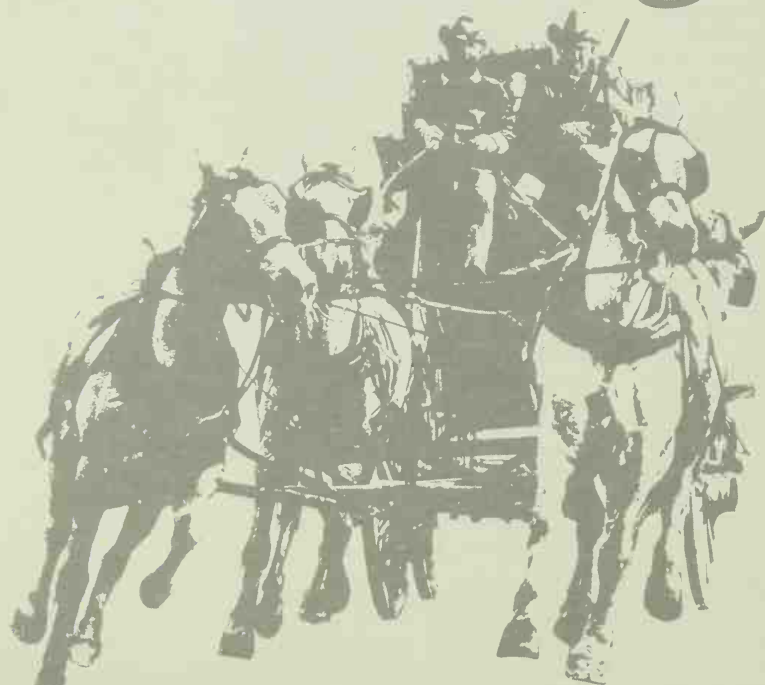
Lockwood, Charles. *Suddenly San Francisco*. San Francisco: A California Living Book,

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1978. 176 pp. Publisher, San Francisco Examiner, The Hearst Building, Third and Market Streets, San Francisco, California 94103. \$9.95.
- Meltzer, Milton. *Dorothea Lange; a photographer's life*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1978. 399 pp. \$15.00.
- Parker, J. Carley (comp.). *A personal name index to records of California men in the war of the rebellion, 1861-1867*. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1978. 153 pp. Publisher, Book Tower, Detroit, Michigan 48226. \$22.00.
- Partridge, Loren W. *John Galen Howard and the Berkeley campus: Beaux-Arts architecture in the "Athena of the West."* Berkeley: Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association, 1978. 65 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 7066, Berkeley, California 94707. \$5.55.
- Perez-Venero, Alex. *Before the five frontiers; Panama from 1821 to 1903*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1978. 199 pp. Publisher, 56 East 13th Street, New York, New York 10003. \$16.95.
- Perry, Stewart E. *San Francisco scavengers; dirty work and the pride of ownership*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. 236 pp. \$10.95.
- Reichert, Arthur. *Tour the country roads; discover the rustic wonders of California*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1978. 108 pp. Publisher, 8 East Olive Avenue, Fresno, California 93728. \$4.95.
- Reps, John W. *Cities of the American West; a history of frontier urban planning*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. 704 pp. \$75.00.
- Robertson, Thomas. *Baja California and its missions*. Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1978. 96 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 406, Glendale, California 91209. \$3.50 paper, \$8.00 cloth.
- Romo, Ricardo and Raymond Paredes (eds.). *New directions in Chicano scholarship*. La Jolla: University of California at San Diego, 1978. 268 pp. Publisher, Chicano Studies Program, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California 92093. \$5.95.
- Saltzman, Ed and Ann Leigh Brown. *The cartoon history of California politics*. Sacramento: California Journal Press, 1978. Publisher, 1617 Tenth Street, Sacramento, California 95814. \$5.25.
- Satorius, Veronica. *Between the lines: The Catholic Church in Shasta County, California, 1853-1977*. Redding: St. Joseph Parish, 1978. illus. 414 pp. Publisher, St. Joseph Parish, 2040 Walnut Avenue, Redding, California 96001. \$11.60.
- Schmitz, Anne-Marie. *In search of Steinbeck*. Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1978. 31 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 397, Los Altos, California 94022. \$35.00.
- Selby, John. *The Eagle and the Serpent: The Spanish and American invasions of Mexico, 1519 and 1846*. New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 1978. 163 pp. Publisher, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016. \$12.95.
- Shor, Elizabeth Noble. *Scripps Institution of Oceanography; probing the oceans 1936 to 1976*. San Diego: Tofua Press, 1978. 302 pp. Publisher, 10457 Roselle Street, San Diego, California 92121. \$8.95 paper, \$17.95 cloth.
- Shumate, Albert. *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco Pass*. Stockton: University of the Pacific, 1977. 47 pp. Publisher, Holt-Atherton Pacific Center for Western Studies, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California 95211. \$4.50 including tax and handling.
- Smith, Genny Schumacher (ed.) Rev. ed. *Deepest valley; a guide to Owens Valley and its roadsides and mountain trails*. Palo Alto: Genny Smith Books, 1978. 240 pp. Distributed by Wm. Kaufmann, Inc., One First Street, Los Altos, California 94022. \$6.95.
- Tikhmenev, P. A. *A history of the Russian-American Company*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978. 522 pp. \$32.50. Time-Life Books.
- Time-Life Books. *The Women*. Text by Joan Swallow Reiter. Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1978. 240 pp. \$10.00.
- Wienpahl, Robert (ed.) *A gold rush voyage on the bark Orion*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1978. 298 pp. \$18.25.
- Waldhorn, Judith Lynch and Sally B. Woodbridge. *Victoria's legacy; tours of San Francisco Bay Area architecture*. San Francisco: 101 Productions, 1978. 224 pp. Publisher, 834 Mission Street, San Francisco, California 94103. \$5.95.
- Walker, Jim. *Key system interurban*. Glendale: Interurbans, 1978. 120 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 6444, Glendale, California 91205. \$16.00.
- Weber, Francis J. *California mission poetry*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1978. 240 pp. Publisher, 535 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90004. \$12.00.
- Wilkes, Charles. *Autobiography of Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes, USN, 1798-1877*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1978. 944 pp. \$13.50.
- Young, Helen D. *Arbuckle and College City*. Fresno: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1978. 182 pp. Publisher, Valley Publishers, 8 East Olive Street, Fresno, California 93728. \$19.95.

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California Grizzly

By Tracy I. Storer and Lloyd P. Tevis, Jr.

This comprehensive account of the California grizzly (originally published in 1955) is the result of a long search through the historical, anthropological, and zoological literature of California. It describes the place of the bear in nature and its relation to man throughout California history. The methods of hunting and exploits of hunters are told, together with stories of some famous captive grizzlies. An appendix includes the first list ever assembled of all known specimens of the California grizzly. xii, 335 pages, illustrated, maps.

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